

# *Dance Index*



*The Romantic Ballet in London*





Plate I. Cat. No. 17

Webster & Celeste in a Polka

# *Dance Index*

## *Founders*

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## *Comment*

This is George Chaffee's third article for *Dance Index*. Our readers are by this time accustomed to his painstaking research, his real discoveries and the extraordinary breadth and reference of his unique catalogues. Such attention, one is safe in saying quite finally, never before has been awarded the iconography of the dance. Many serious students have realized for a long time that it was deserved and desirable. But none of them previously have had either the opportunity to travel, the time to write or the possession of the monumental collection of the prints themselves, enjoyed by Mr. Chaffee. For he has the extraordinary good luck of living with the pictures he so lovingly describes. He knows his subject not alone from patient hunting in remote and now inaccessible collections, but from daily domestic association.

How important this work is may be best realised now, at this so critical period in world history. La Scala in Milan has been burned. Where its great theatrical collection now is, none of us dare think. The Archives Internationales de la Danse and the wonderful books and original material in the Museum de l'Opera have been at the disposal of effi-

cient German collectors since the fall of France. The British cannot have been pleased to have destroyed the collections of the Berlin State Library, but two years before the Germans had burned more than one great English repository of theatrical material.

Mr. Chaffee would be the first to deny that his work takes the place of lost original drawings and complete files of programs and reviews. But nevertheless, it does serve as a new and indisputable source, and when the time comes, as it surely must, for the relocation and cataloguing anew of the dispersed and damaged European collections, the work will be easier and more thoroughly accomplished through his heroic contributions. The leads his lists suggest may result in the more rapid rediscovery of mislaid prints while placing the survivors in newly illuminated light.

In the next year, we will look forward to the continuation of his catalogues into French and Italian fields. This publication alone justifies the continued interest and support, in a very difficult time, of the subscribers of *Dance Index*.

L. K.

(Cover: Wieland as the North Wind. See Catalogue, Series M.)

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# *The Romantic Ballet* *In London: 1821-1858*

*Some Hitherto Unremarked Aspects*

*By George Chaffee\**

## INTRODUCTION

The history of ballet in London — even of the Romantic Ballet there — still waits to be written. It is being written — by degrees; a little here, a little there. In time it will be possible for someone to undertake it as a whole. But such a task demands an enormous amount of dusty and persevering research before even so much as the source materials vital to it will have been, first, assembled, then assorted and edited, and, finally assayed. Any formal study of the subject that could hope to stand as definitive, asks a hefty tome, but a volume entirely worth the candle.

There is not, to our knowledge, a single essay devoted to the past history of ballet in London as specifically a subject in its own right. What literature there is belongs to studies of international scope. These lift incidents from London's annals out of their immediate context and set them amidst quite a different one. Only frustration rewards anyone who should seek to reconstitute from those odds and ends, however signal in themselves, any over-all picture of the London scene.

Yet that scene is of engrossing interest in itself alone. For the Romantic Ballet marks the apogee of the art there. It also marks the end of an unbroken tradition of 150 years, a tradition never since revived. No other great capital of the art anywhere has ever known the like of it. Paris, Milan, and Naples, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, and Moscow — in them all ballet has had its ups and downs, its creative eras and its arid stretches. But ballet there has gone on, as the grand opera of the dance. But not in London.

That scene is of importance also in respect to ballet elsewhere. The interrelations in the art between London and the Continent a century ago were so many and far flung that it is not too much to say that all Europe found representation there, one time and another. From Spain in the West to Russia in the East and Italy in the South, and from all the lands inside that girdle, dancers

travelled to London sure of welcome there. The London Directory of the Romantic Ballet reads like an Almanac de Gotha of the dance. Anyone researching the Romantic Ballet on the Continent needs to keep a weather eye out for London whither came so many artists from abroad every year.

Finally, that scene is of absorbing interest to us Americans. As in our theatrical history in general, so also in the realm of ballet in particular, London stands secure as the capital of the art throughout the English-speaking world. Without reference to London, the annals of the Romantic Ballet in America, in our United States, are but so many sporadic and irrational events hardly to be dignified as history, having a unity merely geographical and a continuity only chronological. It is as these are related to their animating source, as they are traced to London, that those annals begin to make sense. And while some have to be followed to the Continent, they are best traced there not direct, but via London. For this reason, the London scene is of special and even of crucial importance to American balletophiles. London is the background against which alone the American scene of the Romantic Ballet finds its most effective setting. No further attempt is here made to relate those two scenes. Enough if we shall be able to provide American readers with that background essential to their interests, for as yet no one has addressed himself directly to that task.

This (brief) monograph makes no pretence of being a formal history of the Romantic Ballet in London. Its interests are purely exploratory, documentary, and critical. It is, however, no mere rehash of already available information. Its approach is entirely new and so is its subject matter — well, say, nine-tenths of it, and that alone is rather astounding. No one who reads this can possibly

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be more surprised at its contents than were we as, little by little, having slowly gathered our material, we began trying to put it together.

We are still far from satisfied with the results. Much more research waits to be done. The material is so diversified and elusive, the subject itself so complicated and centuply-angled, that we are keenly conscious of offering our readers a diamond in the rough. We feel, however, that many would rather have it that way than not at all and will themselves know how to cut and polish to release the sleeping lights and fires.

What reference works of documentary worth already exist, are here taken for granted, especially, Mr. Cyril W. Beaumont's monumental work, *The Complete Book of Ballets*, and the English items in the rich catalogue of old ballet prints submitted by him in 'The Romantic Ballet in Lithographs of the Time'. If we presume familiarity with these on the part of the reader that is only natural. For either he will already have read (and possessed himself of) those important volumes or he should do so, because they are of enduring worth. But if we have availed ourselves of that help, we have also, it is not immodest to hope, increased the usefulness of both by such complementary data and emendations as we have been able to provide.

If no formal history, what then is the gist of this study? In a word, it is some preliminary notes and tabulations towards a definitive history of the Romantic Ballet in London. Such fundamental charts and vital statistics must be of record before any formal history can even be begun. The monograph should have many uses beyond a once over reading and it is with this more enduring assistance in view that we have undertaken it.

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It is here assumed that ballet is a European art-form of theatrical dancing. Also, that the chief historic centres of the art are to be sought there — primarily in such capital cities as Paris, Milan, and St. Petersburg (Leningrad), with their ancient foundations (both edifices and institutions) of the art, their respective Grand Opera Houses.

So conceived, ballet history — both as it has transpired and as it has best been recorded — has followed a dual course, has flowed in two streams. First, there is ballet at the Opera, with the special connotations that that term has in theatrical parlance, as a magnificence apart. There the stream of ballet has flowed straight and narrow, deep and limpid. Second, but also important, there is ballet at all theatres other than the Opera. This stream is wide and meandering, with many shallows, and its waters are frequently turbid because admixed with alien elements, with matter foreign to ballet properly so called. If this archtypic pattern be sound, it will hold good whether we apply it to the subject as a whole or to the whole subject in any particular city or centre, or to a particular

interest in a particular centre. In that case, particular histories will do well to conform in the small to the dominating pattern.

We shall, accordingly, divide our subject into three parts: the Romantic Ballet at the London Opera; the Romantic Ballet at London theatres other than the Opera; and, three, the souvenir prints of both streams.

To approach the history of ballet in London with that model chart in hand is to experience a distinct shock of discomfort and to sense something askew. For from any international viewpoint, London stands a-centric not merely to the general scene but also within itself. It is a-normal and to a peculiar degree sui generis. For local particularities and idiosyncracies are present in every land, in every city; but in London it is not some details that go off at an angle but the whole scene. What, then, must be done? Shall the original premises be discarded and new ones sought? Why, when those premises hold good everywhere on the Continent and fail only in London? To shelve them would be to let the tail wag the dog.

The second thing in general that one notes about London in ballet is that its role has always been a passive and receptive one in the art. Only once, perhaps, has London ever initiated anything novel that was to become universal practice. Though for generations a busy ballet centre, it has rarely been a creative centre. Even that one possible initial contribution, made early in the 18th century, is as yet and perhaps forever shrouded in equivocal veils and has been set at doubt by its own historians. At best, it lengthened its shadow not directly but only by proxy. We shall be specific about it later.

Only once has London ever focussed upon itself the amazed eyes of the whole ballet world and bedazzled the imagination. That was when Lumley contrived a sheer and unique tour de force, Taglioni's apotheosis in the famous *Pas de Quatre*. The event was later echoed in London but never again equalled even there. Though world-renowned, it was without issue and of no influence whatever elsewhere.

It is understandable, then, why Continental historians of ballet have paid little if any attention to London. London has never made any impression on ballet on the Continent, while the Continent has swamped London, yet never made ballet there more than superficially in its own image.

It is understandable why English historians of ballet are prone to take an international view and to fit their own annals piecemeal into that vast scene. It serves as camouflage; it gives London a semblance of identity with the Continent. Even so, they could have had a more appreciative eye for their immediate scene. If anything, they have been over-modest to the point of a reticence that mis-speaks their own city's history in the art.

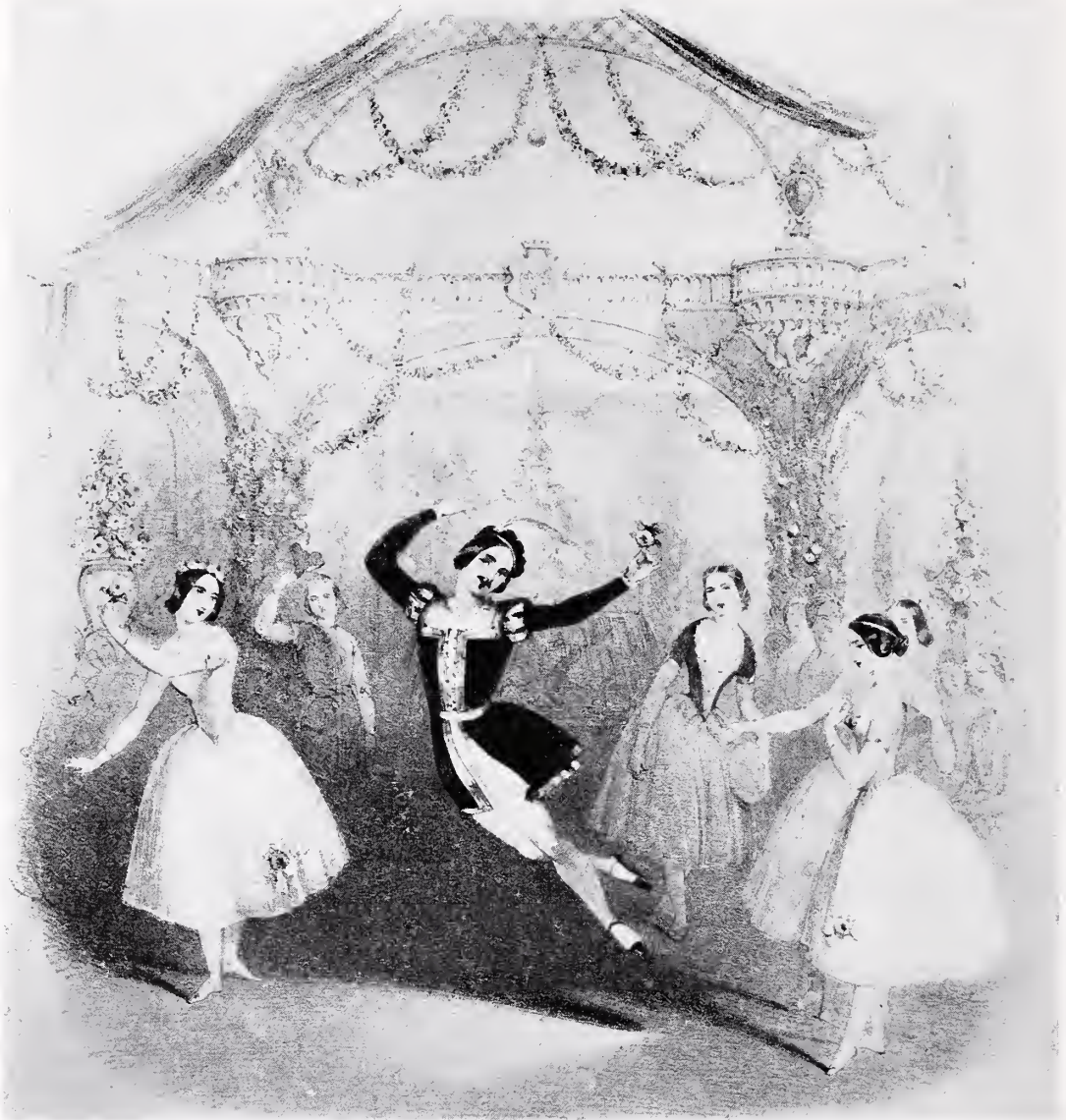


Plate II. Cat. No. 39

Esmeralda. Act II, Scene 2

## PART I — THE CONTINENTAL BALLET IN LONDON

The highlights of the Romantic Ballet at the London Opera — certainly, of the Taglioni, or, better, the Taglioni-Elssler Era there, 1830-1847 — are already of record. We shall not attempt to rehearse them. But the over-all picture of the London Opera and its ballet has never been sketched. Moreover, the two decades that flank the

Taglioni-Elssler Era fore and aft, 1821-29 and 1848-58, have been left sadly neglected. They are integral and, indeed, inseparable parts of that era. Here we shall try to coordinate that period, 1821-1858, and to assay its outstanding characteristics. For the London Opera ballet of a century ago is without parallel in our own Opera history.



Further, the reader must keep clearly in mind that in ballet history, the Opera ballet everywhere represents the main stream. The London Opera ballet is England's one counterpart of the Paris Opera ballet, ballet at La Scala, Milan, and at the Mariinsky, St. Petersburg (now, the Bolshoi, Lenin-grad) and so on, throughout Europe. To lose sight of this or, because of any special considerations, consciously to discount it and to make exceptions for London that we would not think of granting elsewhere, is only to invite confusion and contradiction somewhere along the line. In London the Opera ballet stands as the English equivalent of the Opera ballet everywhere. Anyone will allow that—and then conveniently forget to hold to the rest, that it *alone* is that equivalent, that all other ballet whatever belongs willy-nilly in another category.

London has never had State Theatres or a State Opera such as have been customary for centuries on the Continent. It has, however, had its own version of those Continental edifices and institutions, consciously patterned on them, but adapted to the local environment and to national taste and persuasion in things operatic.

To the London of a century or so ago, the Great Haymarket Theatre and its activities were The Opera in the universally accepted sense of the word. Precisely, at that time, this was London's fusion of two renowned Paris establishments: lyrically, of the Theatre Italien (the Italian Opera in Paris) and choreographically, of the Academy of Music and Dance (the Paris Opera, founded in 1669).

This theatre was officially known, successively, as the Queen's (1705-14), the King's (1714-1837) and Her Majesty's (1837-91) Theatre, and functionally, as the Academy of Music (1720-28) and the Italian Opera House; but, familiarly and shortly, as The Opera. By 1821 it had already more than a century of operatic history behind it.

After the Academy fiasco (1728), the Opera was organized as a subscription activity, a method since followed the English-speaking world over. It was a semi-public theatrical interest of the world of fashion, a regular part of the social routine of the elite. In Romantic times its season lasted around six months, March into August, with performances Tuesdays and Saturdays, plus many special Thursday events (the 'long Thursdays,' mostly Benefit nights), with 60-70 evenings in all.

The two special and exclusive theatrical activities of this house were grand opera in Italian and grand ballet 'in French'. At least, its operas and their singers were always announced and sung in Italian while its ballets and their dancers were as regularly announced in French, and there is to be seen in this exactly what meets the eye. It was a bi-lingual theatre, but English was not in its official vocabulary, except for the National Anthem on special occasions. The institution was not so much international as extra-national, an embassy of foreign

arts theatrical in London. Among London theatres as a whole, the Opera remained in magnificent isolation. Its featured artists were, by fixed policy, always imported seasonally from abroad. In Romantic times they came chiefly from Paris; but, as regards its dancers, they were always mostly from Paris, and they alone concern us here.

By tacit consent from the first and by legal grant from 1791 on, this theatre enjoyed a monopoly on opera in Italian in London, though only on opera *in Italian*. In 1847 this monopoly was annulled, when another company, the Royal Italian Opera, was licensed for the same purpose. The Opera had no monopoly on ballet; any theatre could produce that, and most of them, one time and another did. BUT nowhere else was ballet so invariably and so prominently featured, year in, year out, for generations, as at the Opera. For there, grand opera and grand ballet shared the stage fifty-fifty. A normal and regular evening's bill consisted of a full-length grand opera, and a full-length grand ballet, plus a ballet *divertissement* between Acts I and II of the opera. This, the modern American reader, brought up in another practice and, by now, tradition, must keep in mind. At the London Opera as, then, at the Opera everywhere, the lyric drama and the dance were twins and peers and shared the stage like and like every performance. The evenings were long, beginning usually at 7½ o'clock and ending only around midnight, and not infrequently, long after midnight. The grand ballet was always the afterpiece. It even had its own audience, many patrons coming just for that.

Over the chorus (*corps de ballet*) or even over the choryphees (incidental or group 'soloists' who hovered midway between the chorus and the minor soloists, used sometimes in one, sometimes in the other capacity) no time need be spent. They comprise the anonymous or semi-anonymous force always presumed and generally specified only as a sum-total. They were of the same make up on every London stage; indeed, they flocked seasonally to the Opera, and out of season found a place for themselves in a half dozen other theatres. These were mostly native dancers. Their personnel showed no more foreign admixture than any great metropolis and their particular theatre art would show in any country in any generation.

But the featured artists, both major and minor, at the London Opera, the ballet masters, dancers, and mimes, who constituted the advertised company and who filled all the first, second, and even third roles, were foreign and mostly yearly importations—as good as lock, stock, and barrel. Any English name among them was the rare exception, and the handful that are to be found in a whole generation rated and appeared only as minor Second Dancers. Never, in the forty years, 1818-1858, is one English First Dancer, one premiere danseuse, to be found among them, and each season as a rule saw ten to a dozen First Dancers come and



Plate III. Cat. No. 134

Les Pointes — 1821

go. It is a situation with which we here in America are not unfamiliar. In this, our operatic history, lyric and terpsichorean, has tacitly echoed English precedent.

It is important to realize that in this regard ballet at the London Opera differed radically from ballet at the Opera on the Continent in only two particulars: the degree to which foreign artists monopolized the scene and the persistent rampant prejudice against featuring any native artists at the Opera. Ballet has always been international everywhere in Europe, but extra-national (so far as we have been able to check it) only in England. Every Continental Opera House imported foreign dancers, even Paris, both as members of its permanent troupe and as guest-artists one season and another. But everywhere on the Continent each country, each capital, sought continually to foster and to forward the best possible national troupe. To this outsiders were added, for the ballet public everywhere has always been cosmopolitan minded and

has always wanted to enjoy outstanding talent from wherever, just as has every opera public. But the point is that on the Continent everywhere, the door was open and the ladder clear for any native dancer to step out from the chorus into the coryphees and thence up, as high as he or she could mount,—if possible, to the very top. Again, a native dancer might even step in on an upper rung from without, having won recognition at some other theatre in the land. Native talent was watched for; when found, it was developed, and even on occasion got preferential consideration precisely because it was native.

At the London Opera, no such door stood open or any ladder free for the mounting to native aspirants. A few might become coryphees, though even these were mostly foreigners; by the rarest exception one might become a minor Second Dancer, one among a dozen imported artists; but beyond that, no native artist might go. This had nothing to do with the abilities of the dancer; though the infirmities of native artists were always urged as at the root of the matter. Such excuses were but dust in the eyes. It was simply due to a fixed policy of the institution itself, a policy ultimately dictated by the supporters of the Opera. These preferred that the personnel of its artists as well as the character of its offerings be foreign. In their eyes, the peculiar excellences and attraction of the Opera lay in its being an imported theatrical interest throughout. In its history there was never a glimmer of a national aspiration for the birth and growth of an indigenous art. Ballet, like its sister art, grand opera, Dr. Burney would have been the first to include in his description of the latter as a foreign 'Manufacture' that 'it is no more disgraceful to a mercantile country to import, than wine, tea,' etc., and that it was best performed in 'its own language and by its own natives', just as lovers of painting would 'prefer an original picture of Raphael to a copy'. His parallel was a poor one, yet this is, as Prof. Dent has remarked, 'a point of view which many people (in England) hold today'. The prejudice is not confined to England. It is one of our less happy heritages from a common culture.

This condition was challenged, it would seem, once and once only, and then but passingly — and by a foreigner! This happened more than a decade before 1821, when our present period begins. A last lingering glimpse of it is to be seen in a charming little volume on waltzing, published in London in 1816 by 'Thomas Wilson, Dancing Master (from the King's Theatre, Opera House)', in the ballet collection of Mr. David Mann, who has kindly placed it at our service. There, under the Opera House artists who have subscribed to his work, are listed as 'First Dancers' the following: six foreign danseuses and 'Mlle. Twamley'; eight foreign danseurs and 'Mr. Oscar Byrne' — plus Milles, Mori, Colson, Rosine, Mme. Holmon, and Miss Harrison. Under 'Corifees' are listed Misses E. Twamley, Smythers, C. & M. Wells, Stubbs, Bates, Mlle. Spittallae (Spitalier) — White, Scott, Myers, New-



ton, Hobbs; MM. Berthet, Begrand, Vedy, Vaugien, Messrs. R. Matthews, G. Simmonds, G. Wells — Brown, White, J. Goodwin, Bremetzrieder. Then follow 'Corps de Ballet' names. (The short line rules used by Mr. Wilson and indicated above doubtless had some significance, but the actual classifications of the dancers are as given: First Dancers, Corifees, Corps de Ballet, and must have conformed with the official lists of the Opera). That was really a representative ballet company, even though somewhat topheavy in foreign Firsts. It represents admirable possibilities — had it reflected anything normal at the London Opera.

But even before Mr. Ebers took over the Opera direction (1821), in the years just preceding (1817-1820), all those English names disappeared from the Opera announcements, with no other English names replacing them. In Ebers volume of his administration (1821-27) he lists 61 featured dancers and just one native name is to be found there: Mlle Obrien (O'Bryan), and for but one year, 1827. Ebers also listed the 1828 company, 12 featured dancers — a First, Second, and Third Male Dancer; four First Female Dancers and five Second Female Dancers. Here, again, only one native name occurs, fourth of the five Seconds, Mlle. O'Brien, and how he does try to frenchify that! Around 1817, in other words, the London Opera had snapped back to normal and reverted to its traditional policy of foreigners by fixed preference.

How did that national invasion ever occur in the first place? Apparently through a scheme as mad as it was 'tasteless', and in the face of the mass prejudices of both management and clientele. It was put into motion by James Harvey D'Egville, aided and abetted, as his reasonable excuse, by the Napoleonic Wars and the English Blockade, and the ensuing great difficulty of obtaining talent from abroad. True, the Opera always managed, via Lisbon or St. Petersburg, to get four or five top dancers. But ballet is a symphonic art and asks a much larger body of principals than that. (The name D'Egville, by the by, is prominent in London's ballet annals for 150 years; a 'Daigville' already being featured at the Opera in the 1770's and one of the name is remarked by Mr. Perugini as respected in London dance circles in 1915).

In 1808, D'Egville, already long and well known both as dancer and choreographer in London, became ballet master at the Opera. He was then resident in London and he had, moreover, a dancing academy of his own in the city. He sought to bring forward at the Opera, as soloists there, some of his most adept pupils, to make up for the lack of talent usually imported. In 1808 and 1809, among a few foreign top artists (the Deshayes, Armand Vestris, Mlle. Angiolini), quite a number of native names begin to be featured on the announcements. And the Times begins to lament the fact from its every vulnerable angle. In its complaints one hears the murmurings of the influential supporters of the luxury. So with the opening of the 1810 season, the Times is much relieved and notes that in the ballet department at the Opera



Plate IV. Cat. No. 125

Arms — 1827

'the great accession is . . . in the change of M. D'Egville for Signor Rossi . . . a man of taste.' (What a multitude of meanings that word 'taste' was then used to cover!)

However, such rejoicings were a bit premature. The same English names introduced by D'Egville hang on for some years — Dores, Betts, Bradwell, Ray, Lewis, Smith, Cherry, Byrne, Tree, Montgomery, and the others already listed. But by 1815 they have all been pushed either to one side or out, except Miss Twamley. By 1816, of all those so honorably listed by Mr. Wilson, only Byrne and Twamley appeared in the announcements in the Times during that season. The crisis had been successfully weathered; ballet at the Opera was not to go native, even in part. England had disposed of Napoleon just in time to avert that threatened calamity!

## SCHOOL

It has been urged, as though in explanation and, perhaps, in extenuation, for the absence of English dancers in the Opera ballet, that London has never possessed any institution corresponding to the State Schools of Ballet found in so many Continental cities. Having no State Theatre of any sort, London certainly had no State School of Ballet. But its own version of such Schools, Ballet Schools in any reasonable sense of the term, has not England had in the past? For who would question that it has them today?

It should first be observed that an Opera School of Ballet is important but not necessarily crucial or any *sine qua non*, so far as the technical routine of schooling is concerned. Of what State School was the great Marie Salle a pupil? She came up through the school of hard experience on the Fair stages from her tenderest years. Of what Opera School was the greatest of Romantic dancers, la Taglioni, a product? Actually, of none. She was privately trained, in part by her father, but in particular, by his old master, M. Coulon pere. In the mere point of technical training, the services of a 'School' can easily be exaggerated and the word given a mystic turn unrelated to reality. There were excellent teachers resident in London who ran their own schools, including foreign dancers of the best international reputation; there always have been.

But was there no London School — no regularly organized and officially recognized Opera School of Ballet in London? This is not a question of whether, if so, it was of the calibre and dimensions of Paris or even of Milan or St. Petersburg. It need not have been elaborate to have compared favorably with what little Denmark and Sweden or even more ambitious Vienna maintained. The London Opera had great resources right in the palm of its hand to call upon at any and all times. It would seem certain that there was such a School at the London Opera — at least, from D'Egville's time on.

The Times offers an excellent clue in that same 1810 article that rejoiced in D'Egville's discomfiture. For that review continued: 'There is instituted at this theatre, now M. D'Egville and his pupils have left it, an academy under the direction of M. Boissgirard. We must always protest against the premature exhibition upon the stage of these academicians . . . Cannot the Manager show us the perfection of dancing in Vestris and Angiolini, without giving us the rise and progress of it in the pupils of M. Boissgirard's academy?'

Apparently, M. D'Egville had partly won his point, even though he had lost his job in doing so. He caused an Academy to be formally 'instituted' at the London Opera. (One wonders how that establishment had so long dispensed with one). M. Boissgirard was Second or Assistant Ballet Master at the Opera. Such a functionary had gone on and was to go on for years there. He represented

a continuo just below the ever changing Maitres de Ballet en titre and the yearly imported soloists. For no ballet troupe such as the London Opera then required could possibly have been assembled each year from scratch. It would present neither the unity, fusion, nor esprit de corps essential to the art.

To be sure, it was the concert-stage character of ballet at the London Opera that differentiated it most sharply from its ideal, the Paris Opera ballet and its troupe, where a symphonic unity and excellence was aimed at. Moreover, the very conditions of the art at the London Opera conspired against that stage's being in any fundamental sense either creative or experimental. It demanded the tried and true. It did not function the year round, as did the Paris and the Milan houses and it certainly had no school on the Russian model, where the dancers were charges of the State the year round, although the Opera ran only some months. But that weakness — of endless solos and pas de deux, of concert pieces and virtuosic diversissements — London Opera never got over. Lumley even made a virtue of it, in his famous Grand Pas.

The Academy instituted in 1810 has but a shadowy existence merely, we are convinced, because we rarely hear from or of it, and not because it speedily ceased to exist. Its academicians never got anywhere far at the Opera nor were meant to, so why should we expect to hear of it? But that it continued to exist and to do creditable yeoman service, despite the heavy disabilities under which it labored, there seems no doubt, and we are sure that evidence a-plenty is to be come upon to prove this, though we have not much to offer here.

That M. Boissgirard continued to preside over it for eighteen years, there is not the slightest doubt, for when he died, in 1828, the Opera took the trouble to announce in the public press the year following: Master of the Dancing Academy, M. Faucher. This dancer was no newcomer, we have already found him at the Opera as early as 1824. It may be taken for granted that the Assistant Ballet Master(s) there regularly had the responsibilities of this Academy as a part of their duties. In the 1830's and 1840's, the institution was mostly in charge, we believe, of M. Coulon fils (jr.) and M. Gosselin, both excellent artists. Coulon resided in London years on end and also had a private school there. As ads. in the Times inform us. Even in 1845, when, after 24 years of almost continual service there, he quit the Opera, he still remained on in London and ran his own academy.

But definite clues are also to be found. Thus, in 1837 and 1838, Deshayes is ballet master and Coulon 'Director of the Ballet'. In 1842-43-44, Gosselin is Assistant Ballet Master and Coulon, Regisseur, but in 1845, Bertrand is Regisseur. Gosselin goes right on as Assistant. In 1849, M. Petit replaces Bertrand. In 1851 we find: Sub Ballet Master and Master of the French School of Chore-



ography, M. Gosselin; Regisseur and Master of the English School of Choreography, M. Petit. Further citations could be offered, but enough has been shown to evidence that the Academy envisaged by D'Egville, 'instituted' with Boisgirard as its first in charge in 1810, continued to exist for more than forty years. Even our Met has always had its formally organized and maintained Ballet School; but who would ever guess that, either from the public announcements or from any public evidences? The London Opera School in Romantic times was of much greater pretensions. Its directors would have been quick to enlighten anyone who might have been under any false impression that London had no 'English School of Ballet'. Indeed, Lumley, writing in 1864, fancied himself as 'founding, by my exertions, a new school of dancing, both in London and Paris'. The evidences, we would say, are against the claim that London had no 'School', in any and every sense of the word save one. 'Academy', 'English School' and the rest keep cropping up too often and too long in the old documents to be denied. The job is to explain them.

As we see it, however, such an institution as above evidenced in London, represents but the first and smallest part of the idea and function and substance of a School in the Continental sense of the term. It is the studio where neophytes are trained, yes, and experienced dancers kept in form, yes — to do something and to go somewhere. But there was at the London Opera nothing for these pupils and graduates then to do nor any place for them to go — except into the chorus and then among the ambiguous coryphees. For anything beyond that, all the cards were stacked against them — not because they lacked talent (that would be too naive to assume, for why should English dancers a century ago have differed from English dancers today?), but because they were English. At the Opera only a Continental Ballet was wanted or would be tolerated.

A few minor exceptions could be named among dancers, notable only as exceptions, for the Opera never showed any special pride or interest in them. Indeed, it might even be thought that the Opera dreaded the rise of a native dancer that it might feel forced to recognize. Oscar Byrne, it is true, got himself remarked on the Opera stage, but he was not one of its 'academicians', and, anyway, that was back in the good old days of D'Egville. Long before 1821 he had shaken the dust of the King's Theatre for good and all from his ballet shoes. Young Jimmy Sullivan got his name listed now and again in 1824, then picked up his boots and hied him to Paris. When he returned to that London stage two decades later, it was not even recognized that he had ever before danced there. If anybody remembered, he made believe not. Miss O'Bryan and her brother stuck it out right in London and were used at various times as Second Dancers — but did they ever get a single review?

Lydia Thompson, another academician, got her name featured among those also present, in 1852, but only as Mlle. Lydia, and then went her way. She had no choice; the Old House did not reopen for three years. But what is that handful against literally hundreds of foreign dancers, major and minor, who crowded those boards during those four decades? There was no leavening that scene, sudden or gradual, with English dancers. A fixed permanent policy had set its face obdurately against the very idea of such a thing.

That was why, although it had its Academy in name and had it for onto fifty years, that School was utterly abortive as far as the Opera was concerned. On that stage, it had no functions beyond recruiting a corps de ballet and some coryphees and putting these through their routines. On the Continent, the Opera ballet as a whole, from studio to stage, from chorus to First Dancer, was the all-inclusive meaning and purpose of the very term 'Academy'. Opera and Academy were one and the same thing. In this sense, but in this sense alone, may it be said that London lacked for an Academy such as was everywhere found on the Continent. It had all the makings of such an Academy, every essential ingredient, and certainly its 'School', but all was rendered null and void because the one all-important grant was withheld.

Plate V. Cat. No. 142

The Brugnoli-Samengos





Plate VI. Cat. No. 36

Pas Diancesque

### ROMANTIC INTIMATIONS

The winds that were blowing through the ballet world of London 1800-1820 were redolent of Romanticism. Being the composite art that it is, ballet has always been sensitive to movements afoot in literature, music, painting, and sculpture. Its task and aim has always been to translate the same spirit into the poetry of visual motion, into kinetic patterns of bodily rhythms and groupings and tales told in dance. Even on the foreign and ultra-conservative, non-experimental stage that was the London Opera, one may note straws in that wind, 1810-1820.

Among ballets one notes, for instance, such themes as 'Tamerlane et Bejazyt', 'Spanish Follies', 'Don Quichotte', 'Figaro', 'Les Noces Persanes', and 'A New Romantic Pastoral Ballet, Mora's Love, or the Enchanted Harp', and 'Ossian'.

The *Times*' reviewer rejoices, one year, in a ballet filled with sylphs — but neither the word nor the role has ever been absent from ballet. Another season he remarks: 'One scene in particular, representing the banks of a river, richly luxuriant, lighted up with the beams of a setting sun, seen through the ruins of an old abbey, excited much and deserved admiration.' It needs only a rising moon to bathe that vista in full Romantic fashion and ready prepared for sylphides and wilis. The set was designed, if we read aright, by Ciceri, later so famous for his Romantic settings, paysages, at the Paris Opera.

As a final quotation, note this of 5th March, 1811, in the *Times* regarding 'Narcisse et les Trois

Graces'. 'The construction of this ballet is pretty, but the old mythology is worn out. In the deep and solemn superstitions of the northern legends — in the fantastic splendour, and wild fiction of oriental magic, and oriental magnificence — in the soft and tender romance of our earlier history — the ballet master might find incidents and scenes of the most various beauty.' That, indeed, reads like a Gautier manifesto of a quarter century hence. Note that date.

It is not those straws, but the way the wind is blowing, here in London, these opening decades of the 19th century, that is worth remarking. Anybody who wishes could easily gather up dozens more citations of a similar tenor. The rise of Romanticism in ballet is to be sought not primarily in Paris, but in the hinterlands — in Milan, Vienna, and London, where French artists are working and are not unmindful of their environment and, indeed, must to a degree make use of it while engaged abroad. Until the ballet of these two decades is thoroughly investigated, the rise and spread of the Romantic Ballet can only remain a mystery. That ballet, one feels, time and again, here in London — not only, of course, at the Opera — is just around the corner.

### LONDON OPERA BALLET IN THE 1820'S

That London corner was turned 1820-21. Then, if at any time, ballet at the Opera in London picked itself up by its bootstraps and started off all over again.

An era — a great era — in ballet at the London Opera closed 1815-16, when Auguste Vestris and his son Armande last appeared there. This coincided with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, with Waterloo and peace over Europe once again. Just why four years of stagnation in ballet ensued, is not easy to say. Good dancers were present, though only mediocre and make-shift ballet masters. With all the channels of Continental traffic again open, the London Opera experienced no better but decidedly inferior ballet to what it had had in the lean years of the Blocade. Travellers returned from the Continent enraptured with the art at the Paris Opera and more discontented than ever with what London had to offer. The makeshift native dancers had all (thank goodness, said the patrons) been shunted off the scene. Only foreigners of reputation were present. But the Opera ballet was in the doldrums.

In 1820 pathetic old George III at last died and Priney, Florizel, the First Gentleman of Europe, 'Alonzo' of a poisonous ballet caricature, at last ascended the throne. A new reign had begun. The Opera clientele, of a soft August night, the season having still eight subscription performances to go, arrived to find doors locked and a dark house. Mr. Taylor, the Director, had literally taken French leave and was in Calais to escape the consequences of the ruin of his establishment. As the matter was later aired in print, it would appear



that the indifferent quality of his recent ballet offerings was alone directly responsible for his usual supporters allowing his theatre to collapse about his ears and their own.

A Mr. John Ebers, bookseller, succeeded Mr. Taylor. He later wrote an account of his management, 'Seven Years of the King's Theatre' (1821-1827). The book was published both in London and in Philadelphia in 1828. This is but an indication of how intimately related was theatrical activity of all sorts in the two countries. American literature of the time is full of London doings and vice versa, as a glance at the London Theatrical Observer of the Romantic years will quickly show.

Ebers was unworried as to the state of opera at his theatre. His one immediate concern was the ballet department. This he set about repairing in the one way that seemed to him both practical and certain to prove effectual and in line with what had always been pursued. He had resort to that chief citadel of the art, the Paris Opera. It would take far too long to rehearse the matter — how Ebers re-engaged all the 1820 dancers who were still available, but added to their number a new ballet master, (A.J.J.) Deshayes, and two First and two Second Dancers from Paris, MM. Albert and Coulon, Mlles. Noblet and Fanny Bias — more important still, how he effected, with the good offices of His Majesty's servants, the British Embassy in Paris, a formal and soi-disant State Treaty between the two nations and their Opera Directions, a Treaty harder to negotiate, get signed and observed than had been the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle that closed the Napoleonic Wars. Therein, for a certain *quid pro quo*, the French authorities agreed to furnish the London Opera each year with Two First and Two Second Dancers for its season and such other assistance as might be possible or convenient. The arrangement did not always work smoothly and seldom to the complete satisfaction of its English end, but it did set a precedent and establish a custom, and while doubtless later modified, that contact and commerce continued in effect for decades — throughout the era of the Romantic Ballet in London. In his 'History of the London Stage', 1904, Mr. H. Barton Baker sets it down: 'From this year, 1821, considerably more than a hundred and fifty years after the Continent, however, the ballet (in London) rose to the dignity of an institution.'

We should not go so far as to say that. But this much is sure, 1820-1821 is a watershed in the history of ballet at the London Opera. What preceded 1821 belongs to the era that opened in 1781. What followed, to an era that closed only in 1858. In 1821, Deshayes first came to London as ballet master; he was last ballet master at the Opera in 1842. Noblet came in 1821 and last visited London in 1834 (though announced for 1839). Albert came in 1821 and last in 1847. Leroux came in 1824 and last in 1849; Blasis, in 1827 and 1847; Gosselin's career there ran from 1822 to 1852; Coulon's from 1821 to 1845; and so on.

Les Pages du duc de Vendome was first seen at the London Opera in 1822 and was revived into the Forties; Cendrillon was given in 1822 and 1834; La Somnambule in 1829 and was still being danced in part in the 1850's; Masaniello, in one fashion and another, equally as long. On the other hand, with the exception of 'Flore et Zephyr' and the even older 'La Fille Mal Gardée', the pre-1821 ballets disappear speedily and forever from the scene. Not so the ballets of the 1820's; the high-Romantic decades found them still much to their liking and in no way not a natural part of their scene.

Finally, after dancers and ballets, there is the matter of technique. This is much more difficult to get at. How to explain the Bias print of 1821 we are undecided. That, as an art study, it depicts a dancer *sur les pointes* who can deny? Is there any earlier instance anywhere? Les Pointes mark the most definite technical novelty and contribution of the Romantic Ballet to the art.

Les pointes were consciously practiced in London in the 1820's in such a fashion that audiences were then first made acutely aware of the innovation; of this there can be no doubt. Vaque-Moulin (from La Scala) made her London debut in 1829. The Times commented on her thus: 'She dances with extraordinary agility and aplomb, and the art in which she seems particularly to excel is that of standing, walking, and running with great rapidity and in due cadence, on the extremities of her feet.' Again, a few weeks later: 'Her style of dancing is quite new, and all her steps excite an agreeable surprise. The applause given to her share of the performance was, perhaps, greater than has ever been bestowed on a dancer at this theatre.'

With all this to the credit of the 1820's at the London Opera, what do we attend? — except the debuts of the most famous dancing virtuosi of the era? Taglioni and Ellsler, Grisi and Cerrito, Perrot and St. Leon, and, latterly, the neophytes of the 1840's who were to major in the 1850's, came along in due order and took their preeminent places in a scene already set for them.

In 1830, George IV died and William IV, the Sailor King, succeeded him, while in Paris, Charles X abdicated and Louis Philippe became King of the French. In 1837 Victoria came to the throne and in 1848 Louis Philippe in his turn departed the hectic French scene. But these socio-political events had little to do with the course of ballet in either capital; in London nothing whatsoever. Ballet was brilliant at the London Opera in the 1820's. In 1830 Taglioni and Perrot made their London debuts; she already internationally famous, Perrot hardly known, not yet having made his Paris Opera debut. The date is important, but only as an intensification of what was already under way. It marked no new beginning, but a definite and continued heightening, a prolongation of a movement set in action in 1821, an acceleration of its pace, but an evidence that that Treaty was still in force. Taglioni and Perrot both made their

London debuts before the July Revolution that unsaddled Charles X.

#### 1847 AND THE 1850's

On ballet at the London Opera 1830-1847 we need say nothing. It is already sufficiently of record for the reader to fill in as he may wish from outside sources and our Tables (because the latter contain much information not elsewhere to be found). It was necessary to tarry over the 1820's. They have been neglected. They are an inseparable part of the later decades, as indicated.

It is likewise necessary to devote some time to the decade following 1847. For while most people will agree that 1821-29 may allowably be characterized as Romantic, many would cut the term off sharp, come 1848 or thereabouts. On the Continent five or ten years makes little difference one way or the other, because the flow is continuous; it is just a question of grouping. But in London the Romantic Ballet cannot be shut off sharp, come 1847, as any terminus ad quo except of Taglioni's years there, without grave confusion and injustice to the facts.

About this 1847 terminus, a number of English historians are in agreement almost to the point of giving their decision the force of a dogma. That is to say, they hold grimly to the date and force all other considerations to conform whether or no. An extreme instance of this undesirable manner of treating facts according to preconceived ideas and of summoning all sorts of facts regardless, in support of their claim, is the following: ' . . . But there was another, more cogent, reason for this decline . . . In this same year, 1847, Marie Taglioni retired. She was forty-three years old. Fanny Elssler, Carlotta Grisi, Cerrito, Lucile Grahn, all belonged to the same generation. By 1850, at latest, they had passed into virtual retirement. Nor were there younger dancers to succeed them . . . ' It will be seen that we have picked out what the writer (who is best left anonymous) fixed upon as the paramount reason why 'the Romantic Ballet, as an original force, died out in the late forties.'

It is neither merely carping nor quixotic to say that the word 'retired' as used above is scarcely a happy choice. Actually, Taglioni did not retire then in London. Time simply registered that Taglioni was last seen on the London stage in 1847; the event really had then no more force than that. Whether she ever later danced somewhere else, we do not know, but should be in no way surprised to learn. London took Taglioni's 1847 'Farewell' with two or three pinches of salt. It had long ere that resigned itself to the fact that Taglioni would retire when she retired and not before. Time proved 1847 to be the date.

Why, Taglioni had first danced her 'last' London season back in 1841! Mlle. Taglioni, ran that year's Opera announcement, 'had expressed her determination to quit her theatrical career, but has been prevailed upon to accept her farewell engagement.'

That was back in Laporte's time. Perrot was not there that year, but Elssler was confidently expected from America. 'A new grand ballet...Le Jugement de Paris, in which the characters of Juno, Pallas, and Venus will be supported by Taglioni, Fanny Elssler, and Cerrito', was announced — to be staged by Perrot, minus Elssler, but five years later, 1846. Having danced her 1841 'Farewell', Taglioni returned to Russia, spent a couple busy years in Italy, was again 'hoped for' in London in 1844, but went to Paris instead and danced six Farewell evenings at the Opera there, and the next year, 1845, she did again return to London for what everybody was sure was her Farewell. London outdid itself in her honor and made the year her unforgettable Apotheosis in the famous *Pas de Quatre* and the *Souvenir d'Adieu*. After that all was anticlimactic, even the success of *Le Jugement de Paris*, in 1846. For 1846 and, after it, 1847, were not Taglioni's London Farewells but merely seasons that she returned there after her Farewell years, her next to last and last years there. In 1847, everybody was entirely prepared to see Taglioni return again — in 1848 — in 1849 — and how she resisted re-appearing the Great Exhibition Year, 1851, is difficult to understand! Those last years some blind partisans said that Taglioni was her radiant self of yesteryears; others, atrabiliously, that she was a ruin of her former self. Lumley, her devoted admirer, allowed later that the truth lay somewhere between the two.

Such passings in the theatre are always sad, but, being in the nature of things, are also always taken philosophically. Ballet that, by 1847, had been an institution at the London Opera for more than a century, that had seen Salle and the Vestris and many another come and go, could go along its way, rich in memories, yet with established favorites still left and new aspirants pressing for recognition, even though there should never again be a Taglioni or an Elssler, just as ballet today has survived the passing of Pavlova and Nijinsky.

It is easy to lay much too much emphasis on such things, even when they have to do with so great a power in her art as Taglioni. The London season was six months long. In 1840 Taglioni danced 14 evenings, 2 June to 4 July; in 1841, 11 times in less than a month; in 1845, 13 times; in 1846, 16 times; in 1847, 12 times. Her appearances, then, pointed up a season, but no more. Few years, indeed, did Taglioni dance more than 18 evenings; she was never prodigal of her talent. As far as the course of ballet in London was concerned, Taglioni's 1847 appearances there were mere ornamentation and of no structural significance.

But as to the rest of that quotation—that Elssler, Grisi, Cerrito, and Grahn all belonged to the same generation and by 1850 at latest had passed into virtual retirement, it is necessary to speak at length.

In 1847, when Taglioni retired at 43, Elssler was 37, Grisi 28, Cerrito and Grahn each only 26 years



old. When, at 18, Taglioni made her maiden bow to Vienna and the world, in 1822, Elssler was a child of 12 and already a regular member of the Vienna Opera ballet; Grisi, however, was a toddler of three years; Cerrito and Grahn were infants of less than a year old. To have retired at Taglioni's age, Elssler should have danced until 1853, Grisi until 1862, Cerrito and Grahn until 1864. If that still leaves them in the same generation as dancers, the nature of their overlapping decade, the 1840's, when Taglioni was spent and had already danced her 'Farewell' and they were still on their upward arcs, should be kept in mind. Elssler, as is well known, retired once and for all in Vienna in 1851; Grisi did not retire at all but simply stopped, prematurely, in 1854-55.

Grahn, however, had a quite different career. She danced her last London season in 1848. Why it should have been her last, we cannot say, unless it was that she had more attractive offers elsewhere. She continued dancing, in Italy and in Central Europe, year in, year out, until 1856. That year, she married the tenor, Young, in Munich, and from then on she would seem to have continued dancing regularly for at least five years more, but to have accepted engagements only as they coincided with the operatic engagements of her husband.

Having traced Grahn's career that far, we must thank Dr. Artur Michel for very generously supplying us with some further facts of interest. In 1857-58 Grahn was at the Court Theatre, Dessau, and 1858-61 she was First Dancer and Ballet Mistress at the Stadttheater, Leipzig. Then follows a blank in the record for eight years. From 1869 to 1875 Grahn was ballet mistress in Munich, where she settled permanently. In 1884 her husband died. In 1900 she created a charitable foundation of 400,000 marks (\$100,000.00) in Munich and in her honor that city named a street after her, Lucile Grahn Young Strasse. She died in Munich in 1907. These later careers of great dancers (Taglioni, Grahn, etc.) as choreographers are not unimportant and a definite part of their actual years of theatrical services.

Cerrito's career, however, moved along quite different lines and it is rather astounding that an English historian of ballet should have been ignorant of it or, if not, should not have made an exception of her in his brusque disposition of those great favorites of the Romantic decades. Cerrito only made her belated Paris Opera debut in 1847 and danced there until 1854-55, with occasional trips elsewhere, as to Spain. She returned to London for the 1848 season, and again, fleetingly, in 1851. It was on 19th April, 1855, that Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort attended 'in state' a command performance of the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden, with the Emperor and Empress of the French as guests. It was an altogether gorgeous affair and journals of the time were swamped commenting on it as a social event. Hence, the Times found place to remark only that, 'A word must also suffice at present, to

record, that, after the opera, Mlle. Fanny Cerrito made her first appearance on the boards of the Royal Italian Opera, in a divertissement (Eva), and was received, as she deserved, with the utmost favor.' Later the Times gave both Cerrito and her new vehicle a most laudatory review.

In July, Cerrito revived there one of her old London favorites, *La Vivandiere*. 'The dancing and pantomime of Cerrito proved beyond a question that the ballet of action still lives,' etc., etc., the Times allowed, as though anywhere outside England the matter was in any doubt. The Queen and the Prince Consort were again present. Cerrito's long season of four months closed in August and she must have departed forthwith for Russia.

With her one St. Petersburg season, 1855-56, all writers that we know take leave of Cerrito, some even averring that a stage accident there affected her heart and forced her retirement. But on 27th May, 1856, she re-appeared in London, in her highly successful 'Eva' of the year before, and the Times declared that 'her return gives a real importance to the ballet at this theatre.' But in 1856 Lumley was again in the field, and London did not lack for brilliant and sumptuous ballet — at 'the Old House.' Cerrito remained on to the close of the season, 29th July. Finally, May 2nd, 1857, this 'distinguished favorite' again returned to London, created a new ballet, *La Brezilienne* (completely successful and kept in the repertory for years) and made her

Plate VII. Cat. No. 23

Cerrito in *Alma*



adieux 18th June, to be followed immediately by Plunkett in a new *divertissement*, *Terpsichore*. When and where Cerrito last danced, we have not learned, but she was in magnificent form as late as 1857 — and in London.

It is just as well to spread these brief additional facts on these greatest dancers of the Romantic Ballet on the record. But what mincemeat do they make of that 'by 1850, *at latest*, they had all passed into virtual retirement.' They indicate that ballet history in London is far from recorded, that even its more prominent writers still have much to learn about it, and the sooner that they begin to put the whole period here so briefly treated into order the better for London. It is possible — though not to our mind desirable — to close the Romantic Ballet 1847-50. But to do so one must hew close to what then terminated and build one's argument on just that; one must stick to the facts and urge only what those ratify.

There is one pernicious fault with the historians who lay down flatly the dates 1832-47 (1830-50) for the Romantic Ballet. They hold consistently only to their dogma and use it as a protean bed for the facts. Is it square shooting, we would ask, to include Ferraris and Priora as falling within such a survey? Ferraris, for instance, was born in 1830, reached London in 1850, but Paris only in 1856; while Priora reached Paris only in 1851, and London never, it would seem. We have not mentioned using an 1860 lithograph of Ferraris in a volume that would finish the Romantic Ballet off with the late '40's. We can't have our cake and eat it. Either data within one's set dates should be squarely and straitly stuck to or the dates should be expanded to fit the source-material used.

Ballet at the London Operas in the 1850's (for there were rival houses then) has been sadly neglected and underrated. It is not merely a matter of Cerrito. It also involves other excellent dancers of the 1840's, as Plunkett, Guy-Stephan, Fleury, Bellon, Rosati, Marie II Taglioni, etc., as well as later comers — sparkling Pocchini, startling Boschetti, and Eugene Durand, who dared to be a superb dancer in the face of a public with a settled bad taste. So far as ballet *qua* ballet there was concerned, there was no break, 1847-50, but merely the rhythmic change inherent in the very nature of the art.

What probably nobody foresaw was 1858-59, though London had had a fleeting foretaste of it a few years earlier. Even so, it was against all precedent. With Taglioni actually off the scene and Elssler merely departed, though not to return again, ballet at the Opera was brilliant 1848-52. Why, 1851 was Lumley's *annus mirabilis*, with 120 evenings and a season that prolonged itself into October. Not even Lumley dreamed that 1858 was to be his last year at the helm of Her Majesty's Theatre, or, worse still, that it was to write *Finis* to the grand ballet at the London Opera. Yet so it proved. In 1859 not a single grand ballet nor so much as a single new ballet *divertissement* was presented at

the London Opera — and that was, from now on, to remain the regular, accepted, and, indeed, desired state of affairs. Furtive attempts would be made, years later, to revive the grand ballet at the Opera, but all were to prove abortive and to be danced as a postlude to the backs of departing Opera capes and coats. 1858 saw the end of a practically unbroken tradition of 150 years at the London Opera, a complete reversal of all its past history. Compared to this cataclysmic collapse, utter and enduring, of a great operatic art in London, Taglioni's retirement a decade before pales into insignificance.

So complete was this ruin that England actually went benighted, descended into her dark age of ballet. Writing around 1904, Mr. H. Barton Baker could set down what was near the truth: 'Only twice since the 1850's has London been afforded a glimpse of the poetry of motion' — in 1872 and 1885, to his mind. But he could also go on to remark that 'the prima ballerina is extinct. Dancing must now be reckoned among the lost arts.' Surely, only in England and, conceivably, in America, could an otherwise intelligent man then have been so blind to ballet on the continent. He may have been living and present when the Russians made their triumphal London debut a few years later.

Our present period, 1821-58, then, does not conform to the customary dates of the Romantic Ballet in London, but errs only by way of excess. But whether it be called the era of the Romantic Ballet there or however, that stretch in ballet history in London is an integral whole, a consistent unit. The 1820's at the Opera have their face turned from the past and towards the 1830's, of which their own history is an inseparable element. The 1850's are allergic to, refuse as utterly alien to them, the 1860's, while to the 1840's they respond as filings to a magnet. For between the grand ballet and ballet only as a dancing chorus, incidental to and the chattel of grand opera, a wide gulf is fixed. This long generation of Opera ballet in London presents the distinct and peculiar unity that, to subtract anything from it is to have a chart damaged on its ends, with rough edges asking to be filled in and set smooth, while to add anything, even a year, is to introduce an alien and superfluous border of another texture and quality of stuff.

All the foregoing has to do only with ballet at the London Opera, with the Continental Ballet in London, with an extra-national art organization. It is, however, the first and most important of chapters in London's ballet history during those decades. It is the only one in the great international tradition, the only one that parallels, as London's share, the history of the Romantic Ballet at the Opera everywhere in the world.

Ballet at the London Opera is isolated from the rest of the London scene. But by virtue of its position at that house and of its quality, which surpassed that of ballet anywhere else in London, as well as its quantity, that hardly any London theatre ever equalled, it dominates all other considerations.





SCENE FROM THE BALLET OF "LE DISABLE A QUATRE," AT THE PRINCESS' THEATRE.

Plate VIII. Cat. No. 4

## PART II — THE ENGLISH BALLET IN LONDON

The great historic London theatres, the Opera apart, are three: the theatres royal Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the (Little) Haymarket. It was customary a century ago to designate these 'the English Stage,' in contradistinction to the Opera (the Franco-Italian Stage). It is possible that in a more lax fashion the same expression covered all London theatres except the Opera, and rather neatly all theatres that presented straight drama or opera (in English; grand, ballad, or whatever, native or in translation). In the same manner it may be applied to ballet at these theatres, for here, however constituted from time to time, ballet spoke French only with a decidedly English accent and on occasion spoke just English with a French accent! What bearing this may have will become clearer later. It must suffice here to emphasize that where, in this section, 'the English stage' or 'the English boards,' is used, it does not simply mean all London theatres but always and only excepts the London Opera and its ballet. Primarily, however, the term applies precisely to the three theatres first named,

even in this study, plus one other, a house first opened in 1840 that was to become important in ballet in London from 1843 on, the Princess's Theatre.

It would seem to be widely accepted, at least tacitly, that there has not been in centuries past such a thing as an English Ballet, that whatever the convenience of the term, it is a misnomer. Indeed, as much has, on occasion, been explicitly stated. A great and valued authority wrote, not long ago: 'The term "English Ballet" was a figure of speech, for there was no institution (in England) corresponding to the State Schools of Ballet possessed by France, Russia, Italy, and Denmark for so many years; moreover, the principal dancers were almost invariably foreign artistes engaged from abroad for the run of the piece.'

Still another noted English authority wrote in 1938: 'Ballet (in Russia) might well have remained a popular and "borrowed" art, as it had done in England... England enjoyed the art. The greatest dancers from abroad visited London and filled their



Plate IX. Cat. No. 6

Columbine

pockets. Yet there was never a trace of a native English ballet until the present day. England remained "good audience" throughout.'

Certainly, we know of no writer who has ventured, as we propose to do, to constitute the existence of such an entity as an English Ballet in London during the Romantic Decades. We find it impossible to account for the facts on any other grounds.

It is granted, of course, that ballet as a theatre art is a French or an Italo-French creation, and that, in internationalizing itself, it never ceased to be what it originally and inherently was. However many languages ballet may have come or may yet come to speak, it has spoken and still speaks them all, and will continue to, with a French accent, unless these may all be said, vice-versa, to speak French with individual national accents. One way or the other, French is present. For the art cannot lose its being and remain ballet. It can be colored, developed, enriched, but it cannot be uprooted.

It is within that formula alone that ballet may be

spoken of as anything but French. For while Italian genius may have launched the art and formalized it in its first stages as Court Ballet, as a fully equipped theatrical art and even as dance properly so called, French genius made it so essentially its own, that even Italian dancers and the Italian public as well came to accept it as a French academic art-form, and they should know whereof they speak. The grammar of the art is French. Behind all such expressions as the Italian, Russian, Danish, Swedish Ballet or School of Ballet a (Franco-) lurks. Russian Ballet is (Franco-) Russian or even (Franco-Italo-) Russian, but (Franco-) as every Russian dancer knows.

The term 'English Ballet' is subject to the same strictures and allegiances. No English master of the art has ever thought otherwise. The simple question is, has there been a native organization and school of (French) Ballet in London? If so, then, to the extent and degree that it may be shown to have been a native growth, a transplantation become indigenous, functioning on its own, under whatever supervision and auspices, it may and should properly be called English Ballet.

So far as School in the sense of academic training in an art is concerned, that has already been gone into earlier. The conditions in London were not peculiar in that department. English dancers had opportunities, both in private schools and in the Opera 'Academy' to perfect themselves technically and to get their rudimentary stage experience in a corps de ballet. What was lacking at the Opera was a stage where dancers of talent might climb as far as in them lay with no artificial convention to keep them forever in the basement. It is here that the English stage offered what the Opera refused. And it is here that we shall find English dancers of ability seeking careers, some arriving via the Opera and its Academy; others, directly, from private schools. The English stage will preoccupy our attention, therefore, as relates to the constitution of its ballet companies and the activities of some of its more notable dancers. The net result of our researches will, we believe, leave no doubt remaining that the term 'English Ballet' as applied to the Romantic Ballet in London was no mere 'figure of speech' but a pulsating reality. The only marvel is how its existence has so long remained unsignaled and how it has been left to us to exhibit it at this great remove here in America.

Ballet itself in London doubtless long antedates the adventitious rise of the London Opera. But let us ignore those remote periods and the inevitable break of all flow that overtook the theatre arts in England 1642-60, to fasten upon what has definite form and substance — ballet at the London theatres around 1700, shortly before the Italian Opera venture made its tentative beginnings. Here we want to fix upon English dancers, so we pay no attention to London visits of Ballon, Subligny, and other foreigners around the same time.

To that time, around 1700, belongs probably the greatest English name, bar none, in ballet history,



John Weaver. His ballet fame is obscured in some biographical notices, for these have a way of putting him down as a 'dancing master,' which he was, but the term covers too much ground. If they had said, 'dancer, ballet master, choreographer, and writer on the history and art of ballet,' what a different effect would have been registered. Weaver was not the earliest master of the art in England and certainly not its only native practitioner in his generation. Irish masters were also already in the London field, as John Thurmond, of Dublin, who was for many years at Drury Lane as a foil to Weaver at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Somebody would do well to investigate Dublin and the Irish dancers. From Thurmond's day to Dolin's English dancers of note have frequently been Irish. If we call them all alike English it is because that and London are the dominant notes of the stream to which they all alike belong.

Weaver merely starts the ball a-rolling, lest anyone suppose that an 'English Ballet' was anything in the nature of a novelty in Romantic times. His theatrical activities had nothing to do with the London Opera's birth throes. They belonged to the 'English stage,' to Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields (later, Covent Garden). In their form, structure and concept, his famous ballets were the farthest hark from anything seen at the Paris Opera, though his dance technique and his ideals of his art came from there, as his writings aver. Actually, he was far in advance of his times in his art. But no man can jump his age any more than he can jump out of his skin. Weaver worked as he had to, as a practical man of the theatre; he translated his ideas into the terms of his age. The point is that he ventilated them; he engraved them on the record.

Weaver was the inventive genius; John Rich (Lun) was the virtuosic genius of ballet in London 1700-1730. They collaborated between them to bring forth a marvel. Their regular ballet company was mostly (though seldom exclusively) made up of native dancers. By general consent of historians, these two men are allowed to have originated a typically English theatre-piece that was a perfect fusion of dance and mime and that had in it the strength, resiliency, and adaptability, no matter how abusively treated or corrupted, to survive ever since on the English stage and even to win laurels abroad: the English Pantomime.

We have no intention here of writing an essay on John Weaver. Recent writers have tended either to ignore his ballet activities or to question his good faith regarding what he claimed were his contributions to his art in action. We have among our ballet souvenirs the program-libretto of Weaver's famous and much misunderstood work, 'The Loves of Mars and Venus,' published in 1717. It is undoubtedly the earliest souvenir program of a pantomime ballet, of a grand ballet d'action (no harlequinade) that exists. The implications of the work are of far-reaching importance. It looks, at this writing, as though Weaver was, as he claimed, the true inventor and progenitor of the independent ballet as a theatre piece. We hope to publish this

document and our study of it in the near future, for examples of this brochure must be exceedingly rare. We have been unable to find a record of another. If our suspicions prove well founded, what a handsome feather indeed in England's ballet cap. It seemed proper to us to announce this matter in a study of ballet in London.

The line and tradition established by Weaver comes right down in the English theatre without break to Romantic times and on to our own. Here we shall go no farther back than the careers of English dancers prominent in the Romantic decades ask. It should not, however, be forgotten that their hands clasp those before them as well as those who followed after. For here on the English stage there have been many ballet periods but no break in the grand tradition such as occurred on the stage of the Italian Opera.

The London theatres of a century ago are a headache on every count to work through. Their dramatic and operatic history has been the subject of much research. On their ballet history almost nothing of any fundamental worth has been published. It is far the most difficult of those three phases of their life to get at. For once the Opera boards are left anywhere, including London, little attention has been paid to what went on in ballet — and a great deal went on everywhere. The task becomes much more complicated when, as here, one seeks not the history of ballet at a single house, but to pursue the subject as a theme that runs through many houses, and to follow this or that strand of it in its meanderings.

Attention will be concentrated upon ballet on the two most famous English stages, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and, from 1842 on, in still another theatre, the Princess's. It is impossible to handle more than a fraction of the material that waits to be recorded. However, if we shall be able to constitute any such entity as an English Ballet at all, the rest will be simply a matter of following out the ramifications of the subject. That can and, perforce, must wait. Our treatment will be kaleidoscopic, like the scene itself. The text will be jumpy. But if the reader will have the patience to go along with us seriatim, we are confident that the cumulative character of our exposition will, in the end, render up a very clear and unmistakable panorama that is compelling and that also makes sense.

In Romantic times, as for generations before, Drury Lane and Covent Garden had their ballet companies and as a matter of course presented both grand ballet and ballet divertissements. Theirs was a three- and even a four-fold theatrical activity, as compared with the two-fold interests of the Opera. Straight drama was their chief fare and permanent reason for being. But they also offered opera of all sorts (in English) as well as the inevitable Christmas Pantomime and Easter spectacle, AND ballet, precisely so called. Pantomime, spectacle, and ballet, were regularly the after-piece and the special 'half-price' lure. Ballet, it will be seen, had to be fitted into the season — during the three months preced-

ing Christmas, in the interval between the Christmas and Easter pieces, and during the short time after the latter before the theatre closed. (The 'Patent' houses could remain open the year round; normally they had seasons from, say, Oct. 1st into June. The summer theatres, which also had ballet, opened April-May and closed Sept.-Oct.)

To maintain such a repertory, three companies were needed: (1) for the drama, (2) for the operatic offerings, and (3), to quote the seasonal announcements: 'For the Ballet, Pantomime, and Spectacle.' Of these, 1 and 3 or 2 and 3 were as good as always present; 1-2-3 only certain seasons or under certain managements. Overlappings were inevitable. No one theatre could support four full and mutually exclusive companies, even as concerned the featured artists, major and minor. Accordingly, in the ballets as actually performed and billed were found actor-dancers, singer-dancers, pantomime-dancers, as well as dancer-dancers.

However, only a foolhardy person will venture to draw any sharp line between dancing and mime and confine the term ballet just to the former. Practically all mimes were then ballet dancers, some of them excellent at the dance proper, and all ballet dancers had also to be mimes. Most actors and singers of that day took ballet training as a matter of course. It was of immediate use to them. But as far as the third department is concerned — ballet, pantomime, and spectacle — that simply says ballet three times over, under the three uses to which the English stage (and most non-Opera stages of other nations) then put ballet artists, and, vice-versa, pantomimists.

It is best to meet this mixed character of ballet on the English stage head on and to dispose of it here at the first. There is no need for any squeamishness about it. Jules Perrot began as a dancer-mime in the boulevard theatres, and was only the better equipped dancer for that when he reached the Opera. Zorina, Toumanova, Tamara Geva, and many other ballet dancers of today, have taken up acting. Their history as artists of the ballet remains nonetheless excellent for that. Such considerations are small, but likely to be urged, and it is best to spike guns before they explode. Many English theatre folk a century ago began as dancers and became something else, though often continuing to dance. Why? The character of the English stage and the need to earn a living on it demanded it of them. That stage had room for only a few featured artists who were just dancers and nothing else.

Even as regards those few, the English public was prejudiced in favor of foreign artists; this was also true, though to a lesser degree, regarding pantomime artists. It was not only the exclusive Opera audiences who wanted imported talent. The fault has been inveterate in the whole English — and American — theatre public. As a consequence, many an English dancer and mime simply took a foreign name; the original identity of many of these is now lost beyond reclaim. Mlle. Louise Blanche, we know, was English, and M. Sylvain; the clown, Jefferini

was English Jeffreys, Boleno was Mason. England dictated it that way. Still today, Alicia Marks is Markova, Hilda Boot and Hilda Munnings (both now retired but once renowned) were respectively Butsova and Sokolova; Mark Platt was Platoff and is now Platt again. Russian names are the password today!

However, among the regular members of those ballet troupes on the English stage there were almost always some real foreigners intermixed, as Mlle. Proche. Some of these were busy in London and, apparently, almost solely in London, years on end or practically throughout their careers. These are to be accounted as by adoption and grace part and parcel of what we call the English Ballet. They did not, however, either make or dominate that ballet. They conformed themselves to it.

Finally, there were the guest-artists. These were sometimes present, sometimes not; sometimes numerous, up to a half-dozen, sometimes as few as one. They came for a visit, usually of two months duration, but *not* for the duration of the piece. If successful, a ballet went right on after they left, the regular, generally native, dancers taking over the role(s) that the guest(s) had danced. If unsuccessful, the ballet was quickly shelved and another substituted while the visitor was still under contract. But the point about these guest-artists is that, unlike at the Opera, they were *super-added* to an already complete regular troupe, mostly or entirely English. The further point is that the native artists surrounded and supported the guest-artists in major as well as in minor roles. They were, if and when called upon, entirely capable of taking over the 'star' role(s). Frequently they initiated elaborate grand ballets, versions of Continental successes or entirely original works, quite on their own.

That is not to say that the chief members of the regular troupes on the English stages ever eclipsed or even equalled some imported dancers, especially artists such as Duvernay. Of such, the supply is always small in any generation. But we do say that those English dancers entirely satisfied their audiences in the role(s) taken over and that they *had* to be good dancers even so much as to essay such roles, hazard comparison with such stars, or to have been engaged as First Dancers in one of these not insignificant local companies. We do say, further, that holding one's place locally, year in, year out, for decades, as a native artist, in such a ballet center as was London a century ago, against imported talent of rare appearance and so, a novelty, was in itself no small feat. We do say that these English dancers of Romantic times, and their companies, and their offerings, give every evidence, from what can today be definitely learned of them, of being worthy to stand beside their modern counterparts, such as the Vic-Wells ballet and the Marie Rambert company in London, the original Ballet Theatre, the Ballet Caravan, and the Littlefield groups here in America — and that is honor and art enough, in all conscience, to be dignified as a native School of Ballet.



## THE GILBERTS

Probably the best way to begin to assemble from our 'pieces justificatives,' our source material on what we would term the English Ballet in London, will be to trace out as far as possible the careers of some of its most prominent artists, both choreographers and dancers, and the ballets that the former staged or that the latter danced in. We have selected George Gilbert and Miss Ballin as our major exhibit, because their history can be traced for almost a quarter century and because they were identified with the most historic English stages and the most outstanding ballet troupes in London.

It was on a leap-year 29th February, 1828, that a Romantic masterpiece was first presented anywhere, first 'created,' as the felicitous French expression goes, at the Paris Opera, to be known henceforward indifferently as 'Masaniello' or 'La Muette de Portici'; originally offered as a 5-act grand opera or, better, ballet-opera. The piece is still of moment in ballet annals, because Pavlova danced a version of it for the cinema. The Dance Archives of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, has this film and it is shown there from time to time.

Masaniello was an enormous success. It remained regularly in the Paris Opera repertory through 1852 and was revived not infrequently later. For 1876, M. Lajarte's Catalogue records 471 performances at that one theatre! Practically every country saw the work and its Paris success was everywhere echoed. A striking novelty of the piece was its heroine, Fenella, a mute, intended to be played by a dancer. Lise Noblet created the Dumb Girl in Paris; it remained the most famous of her roles. From this prototype sprang a number of works later seen, some of them also huge successes, as *Le Dieu et la Bayadere*, made to order for Taglioni, and *The French Spy* with its Dumb Arab Boy, one of Celeste's most effective vehicles. In other words, Masaniello set a vogue.

London's first of many Masaniellos was a production in the form of a grand ballet d'action in three acts, choreographed by Deshayes, with Pauline Leroux as the heroine, bought out at the Opera in March, 1829. 'The performance of the ballet took up two hours and was concluded at a quarter to one o'clock; yet no one complained at its length and the audience remained until the last spark had been sent forth by the angry Vesuvius.' (Times)

In May, that same year, Polhill staged a 3-act opera version of the work, in English, at Drury Lane. The Times declared that 'the manner in which this piece has been brought out...much more than compensates for any want of novelty and destroys all comparison with the ballet. We never remember to have seen a piece got up with more spirit and intelligence, nor one the success of which was more decided... As a scenic representation it has a peculiar merit and one which has hitherto been almost unknown on the English stage. The crowds of persons that are introduced and the way



Plate X. Cat. No. 126

Mrs. Vining



Plate XI. Cat. No. 105

Mr. St. Albin

in which their various actions are arranged, engage and keep up the attention of the audience in a very striking and agreeable manner. . . Besides some very ingeniously devised dances by the corps de ballet, a bolero was performed by Rosa Byrne and a M. Gilbert. The child's dancing is very clever, but the man's, besides being sufficiently graceful, is a most accurate representation of the national dances of Spain.'

Of George Gilbert's background we have learned little more than that Times' reporter who so casually remarked 'a M. Gilbert' to praise him. There is every reason to think that he was then very young, perhaps in his late 'teens, and that this was his first role of any prominence anywhere. He was billed as 'M. Gilbert from the Italian Opera,' but the Times' reporter takes no stock of that. We have never found him listed among the artists there. He does not figure in Ebers account, so he could not have been above a coryphee down to 1828; he was not listed in the 1829 seasonal announcements of the Opera, and early in the season he was farmed out

to Drury Lane. He had undoubtedly never had a chance to make any impression at the Opera.

Alexandrine (Bougleux) had been loaned or released to Polhill for this production. She was announced as from Paris. She had been at the London Opera as early as 1824, though Ebers does not list her, and she was among the featured dancers in the 1829 announcement. But her rank at the Opera was minor. We do not again hear of her after this Drury Lane appearance. The English stage, like the Italian, was to see many Fenellas, among them, Mrs. Barrymore, Mme. Augusta, Mme. Proche-Giubilei, Miss Ballin, etc.

There is no reason to be misled by the 'M. Gilbert.' Anybody from the Opera Ballet was automatically a Mlle., Mme. or M. Gilbert was regularly billed later as Mr. It may be presumed that he was of English blood. In any event, from now on his career was to be identified with London and with the English stage. From what vague clues we have come upon we should say that George Gilbert was a product of the Opera academy or of D'Egville's private school, or, more likely, of both, and that his Opera engagement dated from when D'Egville was (again) ballet master there, 1826 and 1827. But Drury Lane was his first major engagement. His apprenticeship was now over. Whether loaned or released by the Opera, he did not return there. He was destined to remain 'on at Drury Lane through most years of the next decade.

We have not learned who choreographed the dancing in the Drury Lane Masaniello. Oscar Byrne was then ballet master there, his daughter, Rosa, was in the company, and later on Byrne himself took over Gilbert's role. But with the next season, the Byrnes were gone; M. Simon was ballet master, and young George Gilbert his First Dancer. In 1831-32, Miss Barnett, a First Dancer there and at Covent Garden in the 1820's, produced several ballets at Drury Lane, as did also Mrs. Barrymore, and an English adaptation of Robert the Devil with Miss Baseke as Helena the Abbess was presented. Gilbert continued on as First Male Dancer.

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The rival establishment, Covent Garden, then had M. D'Albert, from the Opera, as its ballet master, with the Mrs. Bedford, Vedy, Vining, Miss Egan, the Paynes, etc., as his featured dancers. 'Offerings to Venus' was greeted by the Times as 'More in the style of an Opera ballet than any we have seen on the English stage.' (It will be noted frequently in our quotations that our fundamental pattern, 'Opera' and 'English stage' as two streams of ballet in London is no figment of our imagination but simply an acceptance of the facts and in complete harmony with London parlance a century ago.) 'Auld Robin Gray' the Times termed 'one of the prettiest trifles we have seen for a long time.' If not distinguished, the Covent Garden ballet was efficient around 1830, as was also the troupe at Drury Lane.

In the Summer of 1832, a Season of French Drama and Ballet, headed by Mlle. Mars and the



Taglionis (Marie, her brother, Paul, and his wife, Amalia Galdstre-Taglioni), was a post-season attraction at Covent Garden. It was then that London saw its first 'La Sylphide'; but in the very nature of the evenings, an 'Opera audience' was in view. La Taglioni danced 13 times; La Sylphide was presented 7 times — twice after Taglioni had departed, with Mme. Paul Taglioni as la Sylphide. The ballet (except at an odd Benefit performance) was not again seen on the English stage until 1837. It might look as though it was 'Masaniello' and 'Le Dieu et la Bayadere,' two opera-ballets, that were directly responsible for a sudden and lasting impetus that ballet received on the English stage at this time. For while, from 1833 on, La Sylphide was frequently danced at the Opera, on the English boards, it was conspicuous by its absence.

The fireworks began in earnest late in 1832, when Bunn staged the ballet version of 'Masaniello' — 'From the King's Theatre' — with Coulon as his ballet master, Pauline Leroux again as Fenella, and Theodore Guerinot and Mlle. Adele super-added to his regular troupe, and then followed this up, Feb. 9, 1833, with 'Kenilworth,' again 'from the King's Theatre,' and again with Leroux, plus Proche-Guibilei and Chavigny.

Polhill at Drury Lane countered that competition by importing M. Anatole and Mlle. Duvernay (not yet seen in London), with MM. Paul and Sylvain and Mlle. Ancellin, all from the Paris Opera, plus Mlle. Augusta, from we know not where, and astounded London with the splendours of 'The Sleeping Beauty.' In any such company young George Gilbert was of course eclipsed.

These are the first foreign invasions of ballet on the English stage in the Romantic decades, for Mazurier's 1825 appearances at Covent Garden were a lone eagle phenomenon. Such floods had risen before, in the 18th century, and would recur again in our own century, with the coming of the Russians. But the Diaghileff offerings were given by a touring troupe, soloists and corps de ballet alike going the rounds. From that, these Romantic productions on the English stage must be clearly distinguished, just as they must be as clearly distinguished from the then contemporary companies at the Opera where as good as all the featured artists were brought over each season. These Romantic invasions of the English stage represent merely a number of imported guest-artists super-added to an already existing native company. It is, therefore, of moment to note in detail the constitution of the ballet at these two theatres at this precise time.

#### *Sleeping Beauty*

Drury Lane  
Ballet Master: M. Anatole.  
Dancers: Mlles. Duvernay, Baseke, Augusta, Kenneth, Ancellin, M.A. Marshall, Ballin, Lydia, Gilbert, Shaw, Hunt; MM. Anatole, Paul,

*Masaniello*  
Covent Garden  
Ballet Master: M. Coulon.  
Dancers: Mlles. Leroux, Adele, Thorpe, Vedy, Thomassin, Ryals, Griffiths, Davis, Fairbrother, MM. Coulon, T.

Sylvain, Gilbert, Howell, Bartlett, Hatton, Eaton, Honner, Cathie, F. Cooke, Fenton, Bishop.

Pas de Deux: Gilbert & Miss Ballin.

Pas de Deux: Sylvain & Mlle. Baseke.

Grand Pas de Deux: Paul & Mlle. Ancellin; Pas de Trois: Sylvain, Gilbert, & Mlle. Augusta; Pas de Deux: Paul & Mlle. Ancellin. Pas Seul: Mlle. Duvernay.

Guerinot, Payne, Gourié, Michau, T. Matthews, Chickini, Ellar, Irwin, Bertram.

Pas de Deux: T. Guerinot & Mlle. Adele; Bolero: Coulon & Mlle. Leroux; Tarantelle: Michau & Mrs. Vedy.

On March 16th, 1833, Drury Lane presented an English version of Auber's ballet-opera, *Le Dieu et la Bayadere*, as *The Maid of Cashmere*, with choreography by M. Anatole, Duvernay as Zelica (Zoloe), Augusta as Fatima, and Mr. Paul and Mlle. Ancellin in a special Pas de Deux. On March 30th, just before the Easter recess, Duvernay danced her Benefit and Adieu, and the guest-artists were gone.

Augusta, however, was apparently engaged for the season. In April and May, *The Maid of Cashmere* was often given, with Augusta and Ballin, as well as selections from *The Sleeping Beauty*, with Augusta in Duvernay's role. Then, May 21st, was produced *The Pages of the Duke de Vendome*, which continued to play well into July and the close of the season. The featured dancers were: Mesdames Augusta, Ballin, Baseke, Hunt, Vallancy, Neville, Gilbert; Messrs. Gilbert, Howell, Hatton, and Bartlett, with George Gilbert as ballet master and choreographer.

From this very brief outline of major ballet activities at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, the general nature, pattern, and structure of the art there, 1828-33, clearly emerge. Each house has a completely organized ballet company, almost entirely composed of native dancers, including ballet masters. It is quite capable of staging its own offerings, even of presenting works of the first magnitude, such as *The Pages*.

From time to time, foreign artists were imported and super-added to this troupe. The regular First Dancers then took second place and the regular ballet master became temporarily a sub-ballet master. Once the guest-artists were gone, the First Dancers moved up, took over the stellar roles and kept the pieces in the active repertory as long as the public interest supported the ballet. But it would certainly seem to have marked a new beginning of a long abandoned practice (on the English boards of the 'Patent' houses) when Gilbert ventured to stage so ambitious a work as his 21st May offering. Success crowned his efforts.

Of the many names above introduced, we need pause here to trace only the past history of Miss Ballin. It is extremely modest. In 1828, when Oscar

Byrne 'renovated' the Drury Lane troupe (to employ Lita Smith's expression), the name of Miss Ballin first appeared there in the smallest type. It stayed that way years on end. It is only with 1833 and *The Sleeping Beauty* that we have found it at last grown to light face capitals as the first of the six 'Attendant Naiads' in the suite of the Princess, Mlle. Duvernay, and by then it is further signalized in a *Pas de Deux* that occurred early in the action.

A few days later, 18th Feb., 1833, a Grand Divertissement from *La Somnambule* was danced, a *Pas de Six*, it would appear, by MM. Paul and Gilbert, Mlles. Augusta, Ancellin, Ballin, and Baseke. Then, in April, Miss Ballin danced *Fatima* in *The Maid of Cashmere*. During those five straight years at Drury Lane, Miss Ballin has gradually earned recognition and moved to the fore in her art. That is the hard but the right way up; the interest in it lies in the fact that here on the English stage there was a way up. Of Miss Ballin's earlier background, we have learned absolutely nothing. She is the only dancer of her name that we have seen in London programs and never once have we been able to come upon her first name.

Two other Gilberts are encountered in the ballet at this time. A Miss Gilbert and a Mr. T. Gilbert. They were probably relations of George Gilbert and may be taken as a further indication that he was of English origin. They soon drop out of sight again and for good.

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The Summer of 1833, Alfred Bunn, manager of Covent Garden, took over Drury Lane, and combined the two Patent houses under one management. Their two ballet companies he fused into one and used this at his convenience at either theatre. In this re-shuffling we have lost track of both Gilbert and Ballin for a spell. In the Autumn of 1834, they both turn up in Bunn's troupe at Covent Garden. In the Spring of 1835, 'Gilbert (from Drury Lane),' is featured at the Haymarket Theatre, where D'Egville had assembled a good company and was reviving some of his old standbys, *Zulema*, *The Swiss Nuptials*, and *The Secret Marriage*. (It is likely that Gilbert was at the Opera under D'Egville in 1826-27, and he may well have been another of that master's prized native exhibits that he was always seeking to launch at the Opera.)

During the next two seasons, 1833-34 and 1834-35, ballet activities were mostly identified with Covent Garden. The Autumn of 1833 *Celeste* appeared at Drury Lane as *Fenella* and as *Zelica*, but her outstanding role was later at Covent Garden, as the Principal Folly in *Gustavus III* (Ball Scene), with Mlles. Baseke, Thomassin, Fairbrother, Fenton, Ryals, Hunt, Lydia, and Foster, as accompanying Follies, Messrs. W. H. Payne and F. Sutton in a 'Grotesque Figure Dance,' and Mrs. Vining exhibiting 'The Fashionable German Pas,' Mlles. Payne, Hall, Hill, Bennett, Perry and Marsano, assisting. This was another French opera of enduring popularity.

In the Spring, *Anatole* and *Sylvain*, Mlles.

Leroux, Vagon, and Larche, were brought over from Paris for *The Revolt of the Harem* (Feb. 5). On May 6th, *The Fairy Slipper* (*Cendrillon*) was staged by M. Albert, with Mlle. Noblet, Mme. Dupont, Albert and his son, featured; later they also danced 'The Fair Sicilian'.

In November, ballet was back to normal. Gilbert produced *The Storm*, a version of Elssler's first Paris Opera vehicle, *La Tempete*, with Proche-Giubilei, Ballin, Keppler, Bourgoin, Kenneth, Messrs. Gilbert, Payne, and Howell. *The Revolt of the Harem*, *Masaniello*, and *The Maid of Cashmere* also continued to be given by the regular troupe. In July, 1835, Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* was danced at Drury Lane, the Misses Ryals and Thomassin, Mr. and Mrs. Payne, and F. Sutton, were the soloists.

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After two seasons of double management, Bunn decided to confine all his efforts to Drury Lane. For ballet, pantomime, and spectacle, he announced the following troupe: Messrs. Gibert (ballet master and First Dancer), Howell, W. H. Payne, T. Matthews, F. Mathews, Gouriet, Wieland, Hatton, King, Brady, Gough, Heath, J. Cooper, Fenton, Kirk, Smith, Raffey, Thorne, Hartland, Jenkins, Honner, Hall, Mears, Marshall, H. Bennett; Mesdames Ballin, Proche-Giubilei, Keppler, Fairbrother, Foster, Jeans, Lydia, Marchant, Marsano, Payne, Reckie, Ryals, Sutton, Vials, Thomassin, Vallancy, Lee, Hatton, etc., etc.

The Autumn of 1836 Bunn brought Duvernay again to Drury Lane. Polhill is said to have paid her £2,000 (\$10,000.) her first London engagement. Lita Smith records that Bunn's two-months contract with her was 'for 30,000 francs (\$6,000.) and endless privileges'. The four Taglionis, in 1837, Bunn paid £150 (\$750.) each performance. On 1st December, with Anatole as ballet master, and Mazilier to partner her, Duvernay introduced Elssler's greatest Paris success, *Florinda* in *Le Diable Boiteux*, to London, as *The Devil on Two Sticks*; the regular troupe handled the rest. Miss Ballin edged her way onto the scene as *Bella* and Gilbert as 'A Sylph'. But when Duvernay fell ill for a fortnight, Miss Ballin danced *Florinda*; she had patently been designated Duvernay's understudy. When Mazilier left, at Christmas, 'A Sylph' disappeared from the playbills; Gilbert took over *Cleophas*. Duvernay departed 2nd February; with only the regular company on the scene, *The Devil on Two Sticks* as the afterpiece continued to draw crowded houses for three months more. The dancers also appeared occasionally in incidental numbers in plays and operas. Thus, in 1837, the Times praised Gilbert and Proche-Giubilei for a *Pas de Deux* in *Valentine* and Orson.

The Taglionis, four strong, arrived at Drury Lane to make their debuts in *La Sylphide*, staged by Filippo. Gilbert, Ballin, and Proche-Giubilei were also featured on the billings, and the Times had the generosity to record: 'Mme. Giubilei and Miss Ballin in a *pas de trois* with Gilbert and Mme.



Paul Taglioni in a pas de deux with Paul Taglioni were all good, yet who could appear with vantage when the Taglioni was present?"

May 20th, 1837, William IV died and Victoria came to the throne. Drury Lane's season closed July 18th. On August 2nd, Gilbert and Miss Ballin and some coryphees from Drury Lane were at the English Opera House dancing a Divertissement which included Miss Ballin in the 'Celebrated Cachoucha Dance' and she and Gilbert in a 'Greek Pas de Caractere'. On the 14th they presented a new one-act ballet, composed by Gilbert, Diana and Endymion, which was danced 12 times in a fortnight. The Times reviewed the piece as 'a very lively and agreeable little ballet', with a plot 'which was original and stood nobly independent of the antique fable . . . However, the ballet considered merely as a ballet was very good and (an inestimable quality) not too long. Miss Ballin was charming as Diana . . . and Gilbert outbounded himself as Endymion.' How many summers they may have joined forces with this organization, we cannot say.

Drury Lane re-opened (Oct. 8) with *The Maid of Cashmere*, *The Devil on Two Sticks*, *Masaniello*, and *Gustave III*, as afterpieces of proven attraction. Here, the only novelty was *Celeste*, back after three years in America. She danced *Zelica* to Miss Ballin's *Fatima*, and *Fenella* in *Masaniello*, where Gilbert and Ballin were featured in a *Bolero*. In *The Devil on Two Sticks*, Ballin danced *Florinda*; Gilbert, *Cleophas*, *Wieland*, his inimitable *Asmodeus*, with Messrs. Howell, Heath, King, Fenton, F. Sutton, Honner, Boulanger, the Misses Lacy, Hatton, and Barnett, completing the cast.

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After six weeks of the old repertory, a new work was announced, without preliminary fanfare; the date, the ballet, and its principal dancers received merely routine listing to inform the interested public. Nothing whatever was done to whip up expectation. On November 21st, without a single addition to their ranks, the regular company tendered London *The Daughter of the Danube*. The work was programmed as having music by A. Adam and A. Pilati; Scenery by the Messrs. Grieve; the Ballet under the superintendence of Mr. Gilbert; with the roles distributed as follows: Willibald—Mr. Howell; Rudolph—Mr. Gilbert; "—"—Mr. Wieland (a dash for the devil being then a fixed convention and a smiling deference to the censor); Urick—Mr. Gouriet; *The Danube*—Mr. T. Matthews; *Herald*—Mr. Sutton; *Fleur-des-Champs*—Miss Ballin; *Jeune-garde*—Mme. Simon; *La Violette*—Mme. Proche-Giubilei; *The Nymph of the Danube*—Miss Somerville; *A Phantom* (in the guise of *Fleur-des-Champs*)—Miss Lane. Featured Pas: *A Characteristic German Dance*—Master & Miss Marshall; *A Waltz*—Mr. Gilbert & Mme. Proche-Giubilei; *A Grand Pas de Trois*—Mr. Gilbert, Miss Ballin, & Mme. Proche-Giubilei.

In retrospect, it is altogether unusual and contrary to custom that Taglioni did not create one new ballet during her 1837 Drury Lane season, and



Plate XII. Cat. No. 92

Miss O'Bryan

above all, did not make her London debut in her last, then recent, Paris Opera creation, one of her favorite roles. It is surprising to recall that she never danced *Fleur-des-Champs* in London. Lita Smith reports that she and Bunn quarrelled and that Taglioni left forthwith for Russia. Perhaps Filippo had his ballet in full rehearsal, but some untoward event blocked its production. Bunn must have secured the rights to the music and the production of the ballet. However, the work as cast in London parallels only roughly the Paris cast. Various adaptations were undoubtedly made and some novelties best suited to the English scene introduced. The results were eminently satisfactory.

'The celebrated French ballet, called the *Daughter of the Danube*, has been produced in vast splendour at (Drury Lane). It would be vain to attempt any description of the numerous and magnificent scenes that are introduced into the piece; these and the other striking merits with which it abounds must be seen to be properly appreciated. On Tuesday night and last night it was received with the most

enthusiastic applause by crowded audiences; there can be no doubt that it will have, as it deserves to have, a long run. But why not play it as a first or second piece, instead of putting it off till so late an hour? It is the most agreeable dramatic representation in London, and would attract half the town if it could be seen at a more reasonable hour.' Thus, the *Times*, which added, a few days later: 'The new ballet of the Daughter of the Danube followed, and is growing into very great favor with the public.'

The Theatrical Observer commented on the piece time and again for days. In its first review it was as fulsome as the *Times*, and remarked: 'After the fall of the curtain, Mr. Gilbert, under whose direction the Ballet has been got up, was called forward, as was Mr. Wieland, whose performance of an Imp was one of the cleverest things we ever saw, and elicited shouts of laughter and applause . . . The precision with which some very complicated figures were danced, was truly surprising; indeed, it was impossible for a thing of the kind to be better done; several of the dances, more especially a Waltz, by Mme. Giubilei (who danced most gracefully), Miss Ballin and Gilbert, would have been encored but from compassion to the dancers.' Again, later: 'It is an especial charm in this Ballet that the audience can follow with perfect facility the progress of the story, all is as intelligible as if the performers spoke . . . Where all is so beautiful we are puzzled to decide which of the scenes is most beautiful . . . Great praise is due to Mr. Gilbert, Miss Ballin, and Mme. Giubilei, for their graceful dancing, and Wieland's performance of the funny Imp exceeds all praise—it is perfect and *unique*. The galopade promises to rival in popularity the celebrated galopade in *Gustavus*.' And a few days later: 'It is the greatest hit that has been made for a long time.' The 5th December, this theatrical pulse informed its public, the Queen had gone to see the piece. 'Her Majesty . . . spoke in the highest terms of the Ballet.' A 'numerous and fashionable audience' was crowding the theatre nightly.

The ballet was danced regularly until Christmas, and continued so popular that it and the Pantomime comprised the chief evening fare until February, when it and *The Devil on Two Sticks* alternated for the rest of the season. Occasionally, a program asked a shorter ballet. 'After the Play there was a *Divertissement*, entitled *La Foire de Naples*, a pleasant vehicle for some beautiful dancing by Gilbert and his wife; it was much applauded.' In *Cinderella*, Gilbert and Ballin danced a *Pas de Deux* from *La Sylphide* or their *Tyrolienne*.

The above 1838 notice is the earliest reference that we have found to the marriage of George Gilbert and his favorite partner of almost a decade. But there it is, and now the heading of this section is at last explained: The Gilberts, i.e. Mr. and Mrs. George Gilbert. But the latter continued to dance as Miss Ballin, though Mrs. Gilbert is also found.

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The Daughter of the Danube opened the new

Drury Lane season (Oct. 1, 1838), and then alternated with *The Devil on Two Sticks* for seven weeks. But not with Miss Ballin. Proche-Giubilei danced all her roles and her incidental pas as well. Gilbert is there, but his wife did not return to the scene until March, 1839. Reasons are not far to seek. Meantime, on Nov. 7, 1838, Mlle. Hermine Ellsler joined the Drury Lane troupe as guest-artist, and on Nov. 17 a new ballet was offered, as follows.

'An ingeniously constructed, amusing, and extremely well-appointed fairy ballet of action, entitled *The Spirit of Air*, was produced on Saturday evening, and gave complete satisfaction to a densely crowded audience. This entertainment has been got up in a most liberal spirit. The expense incurred in the scenic, decorative, and mechanical departments, must have been very considerable. The story which forms the basis of the ballet is more intelligibly told in action than is usually the case with productions of this description. The Fates have decreed that Azurine (Mlle. H. Ellsler), the daughter of the Queen of the Genii, shall pay a visit of probation to the earth. If while there she yield to human temptations, it is decreed that she shall be punished by the loss of immortality; but if she successfully resist them, she shall return in triumph to her present blissful seat. *Frigidus Aquilo*, the blustering North Wind (Mr. Wieland) volunteers his services as the guardian and mentor of Azurine during her perilous visit to terra firma. The ice-begetting guardian, "albeit unused to the melting mood," feels himself a penchant for his ethereal charge, and is therefore more than ordinarily anxious to keep at a distance from her "every mortal mixture of earth's mould." Azurine, on her descent, has taken refuge in the cottage of Thionville (Mr. Gilbert), a handsome young peasant, where, fatigued by her journey, she falls into a deep sleep. In this situation she is surprised by Thionville, who, selon les regles, incontinently falls in love with her, although he had previously plighted his faith to Guillemine, a pretty village girl (Mme. P. Giubilei). Thionville warmly presses his suit on his heaven-descended mistress, but in vain. Protected by a talisman which her mother had bestowed on her, she permits not her nascent affection for the ardent peasant to carry her beyond those bounds by which her immortality would be forfeited; and when her lover sues, somewhat too eagerly, for a chaste salute, she vanishes from the cottage as unceremoniously as she had entered it. In the end, her admirer discovers the secret of her talisman. He destroys the charm, and she becomes his affianced, even with the consent of the Queen of the Genii, who, in full sylphid court, sanctions the marriage of her daughter, while Aquilo is banished to the hyperborean regions. In one point the fable of the ballet resembles *La Sylphide*. In each the subject is the attachment of a "gay creature of the element" for a mortal. That, however, is the only point of similitude. The serious part of the ballet is confined to the scenes between Azurine and Thionville, in which much elegance and agility



were displayed by Mlle. Elssler and Mr. Gilbert. The former is a highly accomplished danseuse — energetic and graceful in her movement and action; we may say that she is eloquent both with hands and feet. Mr. Gilbert dances with extraordinary vigor, but he is by no means deficient in ease and lightness. The comic portion of the ballet grows out of the efforts of Aquilo to drive from the presence of his mistress all intruders. The character was most humorously sustained by Mr. Wieland, whose jumpings and caperings and curvetings were exceedingly grotesque and truly comic. He defeated all opponents in a moment. He did not indeed swear but his mouth was full of “blasts,” and no one could possibly stand his “blowing up.” The scenes in which his windship appeared, now puffing a dozen villagers into the air, and anon freezing, with aquilonic breath, a body of over curious rustics, are conceived in the true spirit of the olden pantomime, and excited an immensity of laughter. The dancing throughout the piece was remarkably good. The previous drilling must have been excellent, for in the most complicated evolutions, in the performance of which sixty or seventy persons were engaged, we did not perceive a single faux pas. There was no confusion — no hesitation — all went on smoothly. The dance denominated a “pas de lyres” is full of variety. It is one of the prettiest things of the kind which we have seen for a long time, and was executed with admirable precision. The music, by Mr. Eliason, cannot be mentioned without great commendation. The overture is an extremely pleasing composition — winning the ear — not, as the fashion mostly is, stunning it. The act music is perfectly characteristic; each strain is strictly appropriate to the business of the scene, whether the brawling Aquilo exercises his tyrannical power, or the amorous Thionville urges his fond suit. The scenery, by the Messrs. Grieve, is very beautiful, whether we speak of that part of it which is purely imaginative, and in which they have evinced a great deal of fancy, or advert to their rural views, which are well designed and carefully coloured. Much praise is due to the inventor of the ballet, Mr. Gilbert, for the perfect manner in which it has been brought out. If we mistake not, he slyly intended by the story “to point a moral,” and in the character of Aquilo, in his defeat and subsequent punishment, to shadow forth to all blustering sexagenarians the folly of persecuting youth and beauty with their chilling attentions. The applause was loud and unanimous when the curtain fell, and the three principal characters having been loudly called for, the north wind blew in Mlle. H. Elssler and Mr. Gilbert, when the trio having made the accustomed obeisances retired.’ (Times)

The piece played for five nights and then suddenly went off the bill, to be replaced by vague divertissements. Lita Smith furnishes us with the explanation. ‘A very unpleasant accident occurred on the stage this (22nd Nov.) evening. Wieland and Gilbert were suspended in the air when the swivel on which they were broke and they fell



Plate XIII. Cat. No. 193-12 Hermine Elssler & Gilbert

headlong. Wieland was the more seriously damaged but both were out of the piece for a time.’ Yes, and the piece itself was off the boards without them. It resumed its way, 4th Dec. Hermine Elssler danced Azurine until Christmas, and then Mme. Proche-Giubilei took over the stellar role. The Queen went to see the new ballet in January.

Bunn took his Benefit the 7th March. For the occasion a new piece was presented and Miss Ballin returned to the cast to dance in it. But it is apparent that she was still not prepared to take over all her former duties; Proche-Giubilei continued to dance her other roles for her. The new work was called ‘The Little Hunchback’ — libretto by Peake, music by Eliason, choreography by Gilbert. Wieland, of course, played the Hunchback; Miss Ballin, the heroine. Messrs. Gilbert, Howell, F. Sutton, Hartland, Elliott, Hatton, Heath, C. & F. Fenton, Master & Miss Marshall, Misses Lacy and Thomassin, and Mme. Simon, filled the other roles. ‘Wieland is truly amusing as the Hunchback; Miss Ballin looks beautiful as the heroine and dances charmingly.’ (Theatrical Observer) Later, it added that the ballet had ‘become highly popular, eliciting shouts of laughter and applause.’ Again, the Queen went to see the Gilberts’ new offering, ‘and remained to the end of the performance, which terminated at a quarter past twelve.’ If we have cited the Queen rather often in this relation it is on the supposition that Her Majesty did not invest what evenings she could allot out of her crowded life to the theatre to nondescript works.

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That Spring of 1839 the tides of fortune were running against Alfred Bunn; he was ruined. What-

ever may have been the various factors that conspired together to destroy his regime, one thing is perfectly obvious: it was not the ballet that had ever failed him. For years it had proven itself his strong arm of support. For two years now he had not felt any need of importing a single costly foreigner. Once, when Miss Ballin was in retirement, Hermine Elssler was brought in, but it is unlikely that she represented any heavy outlay. Ballet had regularly assured Bunn of a large 'half-price' house; it had paid for itself many times over; but it could not forever make up for the losses that other offerings rolled up.

With such a serious eventuality threatening, it is not surprising to find the St. James's Theatre announcing (30th April, 1839) that 'an engagement (for a limited period) has been arranged with Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Wieland, Miss Ballin, and the whole of the corps de ballet for the theatre royal Drury Lane, to appear every evening in the popular ballet of *The Daughter of the Danube*.' (Bunn may even have had a hand in this project. That Autumn he endeavored to make a come-back at this very theatre, with Tom Matthews and others of his old troupe with him. With Sylvain as ballet master and First Dancer and Pauline Guichard featured, *La Fille Mal Gardee*, *L'Amour*, and other ballets were offered. Mazilier and Mlle. Noblet were promised. But the venture folded up, 9 Dec.)

The Drury Lane troupe, so long a fixture in the London scene, passed a troubled summer. Defections from its ranks were inevitable. The Proche-Giubileis accompanied the Paul Taglionis to America. Wieland made a connection with the Adelphi. Others also fell by the way. However, when October rolled around, the old troupe — thinned out, it is true, but with the Gilberts and the Marshalls still at its head — was back at Drury Lane under its new manager, Mr. Hammond. *L'Amour Vainqueur*, *La Foire de Naples*, etc., were danced again.

A novelty, *A Mythological Masque*, was interpolated in a ballad-opera and well received. On Feb. 10th, 1840, 'An Emblematical Tribute,' for the Queen's Nuptials, was seen. This 'elicited very great applause. It reflects infinite credit on the manager, Mr. Gilbert, and richly merited the profuse favors bestowed by the audience.' In May Gilbert revived *La Somnambule*, with Miss Ballin as Amina to his Elvino. After that, we have found no ballet properly so to be called at Drury Lane for the next two years. When it was again resumed there, the Gilberts were not of its number.

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After nine memorable seasons at the Olympic Theatre, the Vestris-Mathews took over the management of Covent Garden, the Autumn of 1839. Oscar Byrne was their ballet master, which assured a good troupe and distinguished offerings. He was not slow to approach the Gilberts. With the Autumn of 1840, they and the Marshalls were added to the scintillating company that Mme. Vestris had surrounded herself with. To such good effect were their talents used, the reviews not infrequently remembered their contributions to a piece. 'A

tastefully arranged dance was introduced with great effect... a pas de deux, by Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert was much applauded.' In 'Comus,' which commanded a superb review, 'Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert and the two Marshalls' dancing was a feature of the entertainment.' On occasion, Gilbert was credited with composing *Pas danced*. In June, the Gilberts took their Benefit; 'Auld Robin Gray' was revived for the occasion.

In the Autumn, 1841, this troupe was given larger tasks on its own. A grand ballet d'action, *Hans of Iceland*, based on a tale by Victor Hugo, libretto by Mr. Fitzball, choreography by Oscar Byrne, aroused great interest and was noticed at length in the Times. It was 'received throughout with the most marked approbation... Guth Stasen (Miss Ballin) is the fairest of the fair, and whirls about in bewitching scarlet stockings... Mr. Gilbert and Miss Ballin danced a pas de deux, something in the style of their celebrated *Pas Styrien*, which was immensely applauded.' In a fight scene with W. H. Payne, Gilbert suffered an accident that laid him up for a week and the Theatrical Observer was much concerned; with apologies, Byrne substituted for him.

This work, which was danced some 20 times before the Christmas Pantomime, was followed by a slighter but effective piece, 'The Wooden Leg,' composed by Byrne, featuring the Gilberts, Marshalls, Ridgways, and Miss Jackson. 'It is,' rejoiced the Theatrical Observer, 'a *British Ballet* and we look upon it as having established the capability of our native artists exclusively to produce and sustain a clever pantomimic performance without the aid of a single foreigner.' Theatre memories are notoriously short. The striking activities at Drury Lane a few years before had already been forgotten. However, the notice is particularly pat to our present interests.

The Times was equally appreciative: 'a very agreeable, lively divertissement... brisk and exhilarating... filled by dancing... of the most pleasant kind... a comic pas de deux by the two Marshalls, and another of high pretensions, by Gilbert and Miss Ballin... (the latter) also acting very prettily the little bit of pantomime that fell to her lot. Then there were dances by the corps de ballet, very cleverly arranged by Mr. Oscar Byrne, and there was a little buffoonery between the Scotch piper and a fiddler... all this while there were a score or two of Scottish tunes played joyously and changed with great rapidity and the audience beat time with nods of the head and movements of the foot and occasionally of the umbrella and laughed and applauded — the last very loudly, and never was there a half hour more lightly passed at Covent Garden Theatre.'

But this fresh start was doomed in its turn to frustration. With the close of their third season, May 1, 1842, the Vestris-Mathews were out of Covent Garden.

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The Royal English Opera House ushered in its 1842 season on May 9th. 'This elegant little theatre



will open its doors...with a very excellent company.' Gilbert's troupe contributed *L'Amour Vainqueur* to the evening, 'in which the superior dancing of Mr. Gilbert and his wife and Master and Miss Marshall, was duly appreciated by the audience.' On May 17th came *La Sylphide*, in 2 acts, 'admirably arranged by Gilbert, who personates Donald with much grace. His wife makes an enchanting Sylph.' Finally, on May 30th, *The Daughter of the Danube* was produced. On June 14th the company danced farewell — to hie where? They returned for one night, Sept. 1st, to assist in closing the season, with *La Sylphide*.

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Covent Garden had been taken over by Charles Kemble. In the Autumn, 1842, the former ballet company there, with losses, but still having a semblance of its former self, assembled once again, with Gilbert as ballet master. But nothing new was staged in September or October and when November came, Kemble's venture folded up on him. Bunn took over, and retained the ballet, with Gilbert at its head.

Bunn at once revived his old sure-fire standbys, *Masaniello*, *Gustave III*, *The Maid of Cashmere*. *Masaniello* came first, and, said the Times, although 'very much abridged, formed an agreeable after-piece...and drew a good half-price...The vocal part has been trimmed with a most unsparing hand, while as much ballet has been introduced as possible. There was a *pas d'Espagne* danced in excellent style by the Marshalls and vociferously encored; there was a *bolero* by Gilbert and Miss Ballin... The most interesting personage of all was Miss Ballin, whose pantomime, though not of the highest order, was pleasing and effective, and especially heightened by her very pretty person. The audience did not seem to care very much for the songs, but they liked Miss Ballin and the dancing amazingly...'

Later, M. and Mme. Lecomte (respectively, a singer and dancer well known in various capitals) joined the company. For them *The Maid of Cashmere* was revived. The Times endeavored a balanced review that makes curious reading. It found that Mme. Lecomte 'belongs to a higher school' than Miss Ballin, who danced the secondary role of *Fatima* to Lecomte's *Zelica*. 'Yet, at the same time, none can doubt that Miss Ballin with the spirit and energy which she threw into her movements last night, was a far more interesting personage...From Miss Ballin's first appearance, the feeling of the audience was most decidedly in her favor...It is true that (Mme. Lecomte) eclipsed Miss Ballin by her last step — a step which it would be vain for the most vivid master of description to attempt to depict — but, at the same time, there is no doubt that in being so eclipsed Miss Ballin feels perfectly satisfied.'

'The Wooden Leg,' and other pieces were danced. In April, Gilbert offered '*La Sylphide*; or, *The Fatal Scarf*.' The season closed shortly after.

Bunn had other fish a-frying. The Covent Garden troupe was disbanded.

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No sooner had the Covent Garden season closed than the Gilberts and the Marshalls were to be found in *Fair Star*, the *Easter Spectacle* at the Princess's Theatre. On May 22nd this house advertised a 'Great Attraction on Wednesday next, Mr. Gilbert and Miss Ballin's Benefit,' with *The Devil on Two Sticks* and a *divertissement* from *La Sylphide*, etc. They appeared to a crowded house. Here was a new beginning.

Mrs. Vedy was ballet mistress at the Princess's. Back around 1810, it may be recalled, we remarked her as a featured dancer at the Opera; in the 1820's she was a First Dancer at Covent Garden; now, she is ballet mistress here in the 1840's. Whenever one turns in ballet on the English stage a century ago, evidences of the Opera and its Academy are turned up. It is outside the Opera that one must look for the fruits of the Opera 'School.' When Gilbert became ballet master at the Princess's, Mrs. Vedy continued on there, often contributing 'dances' to a ballet — a practice then universal.

The Princess's was an exquisite and excellently appointed house first opened only in 1840. With the liberalized Licensing Act (1843) it had inaugurated a program of opera (in English) and ballet, plus, of course, seasonal pantomime and spectacle. The Times characterized the theatre admiringly as 'a kind of Italian Opera-house on a small scale.'

The new season here opened October 9, 1843. The Times responded with a long and laudatory notice. 'This elegant and well-managed theatre opened...with every promise of a successful season.' The ballet offered was *Giselle*, then still of recent date and here first, we believe, seen on the English stage. It 'has been very beautifully put on...the groupings have been excellently managed. Gilbert and Miss Ballin were the Duke and Giselle and danced to the loudest applause. Indeed, the whole evening passed off as prosperously as possible.'

Here, on March 9th, 1844, was produced what must have been another high-water mark in the Gilberts' careers and in English Ballet in that decade. The Times review, though long, is vivid and engrossing, and must be submitted in full.

'A new ballet was brought forward here on Saturday night, called *Leola*; or, the *May-day Bride*, and was eminently successful, as indeed it fully deserved, for it is in every respect the best that has hitherto appeared here, and the ballets under this management have been by no means contemptible, being always got up with great taste and spirit. The subject is an Irish one, being founded on an old legend that on *May-day* the naiads inhabiting the depths of the Lakes of *Killarney*, send up one of their troop upon earth to procure a victim, by ensnaring his affections and

luring him on May-night to the lakes, where he is to perish. Leola (Miss Ballin) is the naiad who undertakes this amiable mission, and in the first scene she appears among her companions in the subaqueous caverns of Killarney, where after bidding her adieu she suddenly assumes the dress of a Gipsy girl, and standing in the centre of the stage, the scene gradually sinks until she appears on a little island surrounded by the waters and lovely scenery of the Lakes of Killarney. The effect of this change was striking in the extreme; and as the audience beheld the figure of Miss Ballin habited in the most bewitching little scarlet hood gradually detach itself on the light blue waters, and then gently float away, the burst of applause was rapturous. Once fairly landed, she appears delighted with all around her, and goes through what is called a *pas scenique*, plucking a rose, and pricking her fingers with it, then catching a butterfly, which, much to her grief, dies in her hands, all of which Miss Ballin accomplished with an innocent grace of expression truly charming. Ryan, a young peasant, then enters, and, struck with her beauty, testifies to his admiration somewhat roughly, and much to the terror of the naiad, who is, however, saved from further violence by Ryan's brother, Phelim, who rushes in at the moment. Phelim and Leola fall in love, and throw themselves into groups, in which Miss Ballin drew down loud applause by the languid elegance of her poses. Phelim's father then enters, and is asked for a consent to their marriage, but the father throws cold water over the affair by making a financial inquiry which is by no means satisfactorily answered by the naiad; her queen, however, makes her appearance, and presents her with a gold casket, which sets everything right. The betrothed couple then dance a *pas de deux*, which was certainly one of the best things we have seen either Gilbert or Miss Ballin do. The latter, though in the early parts of the ballet somewhat unsteady, recovered all her aplomb, and danced with the utmost firmness, bounding through the very characteristic movements of the *pas* with a brilliancy and grace which brought down thunders of applause, and at the conclusion several bouquets fell at the feet of the fair danseuse. Gilbert, too, eclipsed himself by the energy and fire of his bounds and entrechats, and threw more variety into his dancing than usual. To conclude the story, however, Ryan, in the spirit of another Cain, puts a sudden stop to the rejoicings of his brother by shooting him. He only hits his arm, however, and makes his escape from pursuit by jumping into the water. In the second act the wedding takes place, and Ryan, under pretence of penitence, seeks a reconciliation, which he obtains, and while pledging the bride drugs his brother's cup. Accordingly, when the ceremony is concluded, and Leola and Phelim are left alone, the latter falls asleep, much to the discomfiture of his bride, who is bewailing the circumstance, when the Queen of the Naiads descends on the bending bow of a tree (a very pretty effect) and hints that

Phelim must be the victim. Ryan then appears and urges his suit with Leola, who, struck with a sudden thought, feigns to yield, and lures him on to the lakes, to a moonlight view of which the scene changes. On arriving at the borders the naiads are seen to rise in groups from the waters and claim the victim, who suddenly disappears amidst the rushes. Phelim then rushes on, and takes Leola in his arms; her companions beckon her to them, and for a while she hesitates, but, at last, casting her wreath into the waters, resigns her immortality, and rushes into the arms of her earthly lover. This scene was admirably acted by Miss Ballin, and her pantomime denoting the struggle of her feelings was most touching and effective. The curtain fell amidst loud applause, and a call for the heroine. The getting up of the ballet was in every sense complete. The arrangement of the dances was ingenious and effective throughout, and the scenery deserving of the highest praise, every scene being a perfect and most beautiful picture. The views of the lakes were especially effective. The dresses of the Irish peasantry in green coats and buckskin breeches had a very good effect, and, joined to the music, consisting throughout of all the most popular Irish tunes, gave the whole ballet a very complete and characteristic air. It was announced for repetition by Gilbert amidst unanimous applause.'

For their Benefit, 16th May, the Gilberts revived an old classic, *The Sonnambulist*, which ran for six weeks, and followed this up with a *divertissement*, *The Slave Mart* — 'in every way a "hit",' said the Times. In July came an extravaganza, *Alladin and the Wonderful Lamp*, 'the whole enlivened by a pretty ballet by Gilbert, Miss Ballin, and the Marshalls . . . One does not often see so good a burlesque as this.' When the Princess's closed, *Alladin* was moved over as the after-piece for the English Opera House's season and there ran on through September. That Autumn the Rousset Family was also added, as an importation, to the ballet at the Princess's, and stayed on for some months; Gilbert also staged some new productions, '*Le Salon de Bal*', '*A Court Ball in 1740*', '*Les Conscrits du Village*', '*Le Printemps*', etc.

\* \* \*

In the Autumn of 1845 London was agog with the local adventures of Carlotta Grisi's most recent Paris success, *Le Diable a Quatre*. Acrimonious squabbings between various theatrical enterprises, competing for the public's patronage of their particular version of the work, appeared in the press. Actually, it was Bunn of Drury Lane, destined to be the last in the field, who first raised the ruction, claiming that he alone in London possessed the original Deldevez score and that his theatre alone was equipped worthily to present the piece. The Princess's replied that it was willing to let the public decide as to what theatre might claim the palm, etc.

The enterprising Celeste at the Adelphi had managed to lead the procession, with a burlesque version of the ballet. The Princess's was next, with a 'serious' production, *Le Diable a Quatre*, in which



two imported dancers, Mlle. Melanie Duval and M. Adrien, played respectively Mazourka and the persecuted Count, with Miss Ballin and Gilbert as the virago Countess and the splenetic basketmaker, while 'the clever couple, Miss Marshall and her brother' contributed, among other things, a new Mazurka. Drury Lane followed third with *The Devil to Pay*, of which, later. But think of it, the same ballet crowding three London theatres at the same time and almost nightly for months! (The patrons of the Royal Italian Opera were destined to enjoy the work in 1848; Her Majesty's presented Grisi as Mazourka in 1849.)

The Times greeted the Princess's production as 'brought out... with that degree of success which the complete and spirited way in which it is "got up" fully deserved... The (first) act terminates with the transportation of the countess and the basketmaker's wife through the air into each other's apartments, surrounded by a host of suspended muslin-clad, pink legged fairies. This was very beautifully managed, the sleeping figures appearing to rest in the loop of floating scarfs. In the second act there is the scene between the basketmaker and his supposed wife, whom he very brutally belabors into docility and obedience, capitally acted by Gilbert and his wife, and ending in a Polka a coups de baton, wherein the basketmaker forces the countess to pirouette most delightfully, and fall into the most graceful attitudes, while he threateningly predominates over her with a baton of unconscionable thickness... All the principal dancers were called before the curtain in separate couples, and altogether the success of the ballet was triumphant.'

It is not without interest in America that the Princess's 1845 Prospectus also announced 'Madlle. Augusta Mabile' to appear there during the season. But we have not found that our Augusta Maywood came. Her name will turn up once again, later on — and once again to no purpose.

That Christmas, Richard Flexmore joined the Princess's Theatre forces. In April, 1846, Lady Godiva and Peeping Tom of Coventry was the Easter spectacle. It contained 'lively and pleasant' dance interludes by the Gilberts and Marshalls and 'a grotesque dance by Mr. Flexmore was uproariously encored.' In June, Gilbert revived *The Spirit of Air*, with Miss Ballin as Azurine, Miss Marshall as Quillemine, and the irrepressible Flexmore in Wieland's original role, the North Wind.

With the close of that 1846 season, the Gilberts departed the Princess's. Surprisingly enough, the Marshalls remained on, the first time that we have found them separated from the Gilberts in a decade. Of the Gilberts' further activities we have found no trace, except of Miss Ballin, briefly, five years later. They were, however, we feel sure, just around some corner that we have not yet turned, but not up any side street with their lights hidden under a barrel.

\* \* \*

In 1849, precisely twenty years after the London



Plate XIV. Cat. No. 193-8

Pas de Lyres

Opera had first offered Masaniello as a masterly grand ballet with Pauline Leroux as Fenella, and Drury Lane had staged an English version of the opera proper, that famous work was first heard in its entirety in London, at the Opera and, of course, in Italian. It opened the third season of the Royal Italian Opera Company at Covent Garden. Leroux had retired in 1845 and had since married, but she was persuaded to return to London once again to undertake the arduous role of Fenella. 'Her performance excited continued admiration and applause,' said the Times. With this indelible success, Mlle. Leroux rounded out the twenty-fifth year since her first London debut in 1824! Later in the season, Mlle. Wauthier (highly regarded in Italy) replaced her.

The following year, 1850, Masaniello returned to those boards with a new Fenella — Miss Ballin. 'The other change', in the cast from last year, noted the Times, 'was in Fenella. Mme. Ballin (Mrs. Gilbert) has not the poetry or the natural grace of her predecessor, Mme. Pauline Leroux, but there was a great deal of earnestness and animation in her acting, while her gestures, if occasionally redundant, were often expressive and always well intended.'

That is a curious review, for an altogether unusual event, a unique opportunity missed on the part of the Times. It was studied in its effort to say nothing and yet give no overt offense. It would take paragraphs to analyze and appraise — not Ballin, but that review and its implications. London audiences had for years found Ballin's Fenella effec-

tive. Probably most of the audience that night, including the Times reporter, were entirely familiar with it. It lacked any vestige of novelty. For two full decades Ballin had been a First Dancer appearing almost nightly at one and another of the best theatres in the city. She was London's own and only London's. So far as we know, she never appeared abroad, though she doubtless visited the provinces.

Everything the Times says is beside the point. We do not suggest that Ballin measured up to Leroux, an ornament of the Paris Opera and one of the great dancers of her generation. But we doubt, and for ourselves reject the statement that her Fenella was monotonous or inept. That Ballin was a gifted dancer is beyond doubt; by 1850 she was long a past mistress of her art.

But it is even more in what it leaves unsaid that the Times review of Ballin betrays a bias. It muffs a unique opportunity because it declines to recognize it. For an old principle was still at stake and faint praise might have appeared the safest way to handle the situation. The one thing that was against Ballin was the one thing that dared not be mentioned because it was something that should have been for her, even had she been less an artist than she was. She was English and of the English stage and of the English 'school.' Her very presence on the stage of the Royal Italian Opera infringed an unwritten law, trespassed upon established convention. For while the Opera patrons might not have wanted any more grand ballet or much ballet at all, they still wanted what they did have of the article to come from abroad. It is less the voice of art than the set prejudices of influential Opera patrons that one senses as echoed in that innocuous review. It should at least have welcomed Miss Ballin to those boards as an English artist who had earned such signal recognition.

1851 was the Great Exhibition year. That season Lumley also staged Masaniello (*Il Muta di Portici*) and imported 'Siga. Monti, the greatest dramatic mime of Italy', for his Fenella. Miss Ballin was back again at the Royal Italian Opera as Fenella; despite the competition, the offering continued to attract and was frequently seen. Monti was Italy's pride; her Fenella must have presented much that was novel and excellent. Nevertheless, Ballin must have been entirely convincing and in command of the role on the greatest of London stages, or she would not have been reengaged. She became the 'Mme.' (a brevet of aristocracy in her art not to be missed) that the Times had instinctively accorded her immediately she figured on the Italian boards.

Ballin did not first win honors abroad and then return to capitalize on them at home. Right there in London she had begun at the bottommost rung and climbed, climbed slowly, and in the face of studied indifference of an influential public and pressed, the whole way up. From 1837 on she had been preeminent among the First Dancers of the English stage. She was not effaced, even when she appeared beside the greatest artists of her era. She did not set the world on fire; she was no sudden

vogue even in London. She was, it may be, simply a dancer of sterling worth. London audiences certainly liked her 'amazingly', and the field was then crowded with brilliant competitors. At long last, more than 20 years since first we began tracing her career, she did arrive at a pinnacle that no other English dancer in her generation ever reached in London, she was engaged as premiere danseuse at the Opera. Perhaps we exaggerate, dramatize; somehow, this appears to us as an event and an eventuation worth a rubrical record.

With this we must regretfully take leave of the Gilberts. Some day, we hope, their full history will be told, for there must be much more than we have caught sight of. But cast your mind back over that sketchy yet meaty account. Recall the famous Continental ballets that Gilbert produced successfully on the English stage. Review the original and sometimes arresting works that were of his own creation. Consider the many press commendations of his thoroughness, inventiveness, skill, as ballet master and choreographer. Rehearse the roles, great and minor, that the Gilberts danced, to the complete delight of their public. Note their instinctive enthusiasm and affection for characteristically native themes. Weigh how this couple held the interest, admiration, and affection of audiences, night after night, for years at a time, at the same theatre, and on the foremost English stages of ballet. Mark how bravely and loyally they strove to hold together an English Ballet Company, despite managerial reverses none of their making with the consequent uprootings and dispersals of a troupe slowly built up only to be disrupted. All that represents no small feat on the part of a pair of dancers. It is an exciting and enheartening history that every dancer in England and America today can appreciate. For ballet at the Opera is no longer what it was in Ballin's day. It still remains a holdover of the deplorable 1860's, a vestigial nondescript in our culture. And ballet at our regular theatres has a no less precarious — perhaps, an even more precarious — existence than a century ago. The Gilberts entirely merit this belated word of recognition in English ballet history.

#### INTERNATIONAL OR ANGLO-CONTINENTAL BALLET AT DRURY LANE : 1843-1852

During these past years we have ignored Alfred Bunn — ever since the Gilbert's finally parted company with him at Covent Garden that make-shift season of 1843. That Summer Bunn once again became manager of Drury Lane. He re-opened the house Sept. 30th, with an opera that fell flat and a new grand ballet as afterpiece to set all to rights! 'We never saw an audience,' recorded the Times, 'so completely turned round from an ill-humor to a state of perfect delight.' The happy event was Carlotta Grisi in *La Peri*. 'Bunn's policy,' Lita Smith has set down under this date in her chronicle of Drury Lane IV, 'was a musical bill and plenty of dancing. It took the public and they flocked to the theatre.' There followed years of



such magnificent and ambitious ballet offerings as the English stage had never before known, and that even successfully challenged comparison with Lumley's fare at the Opera.

Basically, however, Bunn's new troupe, like his old, was an English foundation. Its permanent company was built up of the Payne family, the O'Bryans, the Barnetts, the Ridgways, Messrs. Howell, T. Matthews, Wieland, Deferrier, Sylvain, Cormack, Chapino, A. Webster, etc., the Misses Clara Webster, Louise, Bullen, the Cushnies, Giubilei, Mme. Proche-Giubilei, etc. His Assistant Ballet Masters, active the seasons through while guest masters came and went, were also English — O'Bryan, Barnett. In the troupe were dancers who had been with Bunn ever since around 1833. There were also, of course, newcomers. Dancers tarry on, but the dance renews itself at frequent intervals.

To this regular troupe, Bunn added his seasonal importations — a series of them yearly, October to June, a galaxy of visitors arriving and departing every couple months. He imported so many and such eminent top artists that he often almost, though never entirely, submerged his native troupe, which had now few opportunities to register on its own. There was no repetition of those phenomenal seasons when Gilbert and his dancers had brilliantly shouldered the whole responsibility. However, a number of his native dancers — as Clara Webster, Miss O'Bryan, Annie Payne, Proche-Giubilei, etc. — always managed to rank well among the guest artists, to make their contribution felt in every offering. For some ballets Bunn imported as many as six guest artists; for others, as few as one or two. But he also had some foreign dancers as regular members of his company, for a year or for years running, as Petit-Stephan, Louise, Adele, Les Soeurs St. Louin, etc. It is impossible to say when some of these were not simply native dancers dressed up in foreign names, as was Mlle. Louise Blanche. Nevertheless, his imported specialties were always primarily in view; most of his ballets were now built upon the star system, as at the Opera; yet the constitution of his company was native.

This was Bunn's nearest approach to Continentalism in ballet. It was probably a concession wrung from him by his public. It was of a piece with his endeavors to secure the greatest operatic singers, including (unsuccessfully) Jenny Lind, to grace his boards — to sing in English. His ballet during these years was polyglot. It spoke French volubly. But English was always heard in it. It was never extraneous; it was international.

It is not desirable that ballet or opera or circus should ever be other than international. That is one of the greatest strengths and appeals of these arts. Right to the top (except for its premiere danseuse étoile, when one was present) Bunn's ballet did decidedly also speak English, as a glance through any one of its seasons makes apparent. Here is a summary of these years and their offerings.

Bunn opened, as said, with Grisi and Petipa in

La Peri, to 17 Nov., 1843. Then, 'la Grisi, whose frail frame had upheld the vast building since the opening of the season, passed away. Her Midas feet which with alchemic power transmuted the copper checks into bright gold,' returned to Paris. Nov. 20, she was succeeded by Pauline Leroux and one of the Careys in 'The Devil in Love' — no novelty, having already been seen both at the Opera and at the Adelphi (burletta). Carey proved himself 'a vigorous dancer of vast impetus in his pirouettes and tremendous elevation.'

The Christmas Pantomime was followed by Albert's 'The Beauty of Ghent' (Feb. 17, 1844), with Louise Fleury, 'young and well looking but as a dancer of the premiere genre . . . cruelly misplaced', and young Hoquet Vestris, a pupil of Albert. Hoquet was the last of this famous clan to visit London. For Bunn's Benefit a pot-pourri, La Fete de Terpsichore, was got up. Within two months, Fleury and Vestris were gone; Lucile Grahn and Sylvain arrived, with Lady Henrietta (April 15) for her London debut. The ballet, put on in a slovenly fashion, was repeatedly hissed at its first showing, but it discovered Grahn to London; her dancing surmounted the shortcomings of the ballet master, Bartholomin. Thirteen performances shelved the work forever. May 8th, The Revolt of the Harem was revived for Grahn. The season closed June 1st. Bunn's prospectus had promised two new operas and two new ballets; he had produced four operas and five ballets.

Autumn, 1844, Drury Lane opened (Sept. 30) with Adele Dumilatre and Henri Desplaces in the Corsair, staged by Albert. The ballet was voted heavy, but Dumilatre's dancing and her beauty won — 'ladylike, elegant, and classic, countenance pleasing and expressive, hair dark as jet, ankles moulded in the perfection of symmetry.' Mlle. Auguste Delbes, a debutante, was found 'a light, vivacious, and bounding little creature.'

Beginning Oct. 8th, The Deserter of Naples, with just the regular troupe was put on nights when the The Corsair was off. Oct. 23rd, The Revolt of the Harem returned to the boards for Plunkett's debut and Nov. 2nd The Beauty of Ghent came back, with both Dumilatre and Plunkett. But Plunkett's dancing had 'too much brilliancy of style and abandon of manner to depict the character of the pure goddess (Diana).'

With the dreadful fatality that befell Clara Webster during The Revolt of the Harem, Dec. 14th, a pall was over ballet. The Christmas Pantomime came as a welcome distraction that year.

1845 brought Les Danaïdes (Feb. 4) with a new star, Mlle. Maria; also Eugene Huguot, Hoquet Vestris, and M. and Mme. Finart. La Bayadere was revived Feb. 20th, with the same dancers. For Bunn's Benefit (March 30), Drury Lane staged its first Giselle, with Maria in the title role, Mme. Finart as Myrtha, and M. Finart as Albert, Miss O'Bryan and Mme. Proche-Giubilei as the featured Wilis. The production was a great success. These visitors all departed March 15th. On March 24th, Robert and Bertrand (founded on Robert Ma-

caire) introduced four new claimants for London recognition: Mlles. Polin, Louise, Adele, and M. Gasperini. 'Of the dancing . . . we have never seen it surpassed here.' (Times)

A New Divertissement, by Mr. O'Bryan, featuring Louise, Adele, Proche-Giubilei, the O'Bryans, the Paynes, Delferier and Arthur Webster, was tendered April 4th. On May 19th, Mlle. Weiss (Paris Opera) appeared as Giselle, but added nothing to the season. Sylvain staged 'Nathalie' (June 16); Louise and Adele 'scored greatly' in it.

Sept. 27th, 1845, The Marble Maiden brought Dumilatre and Petipa back, with Heloise Guerinet and Juliette Potier as novelties among the Second Dancers. The ballet was considered 'heavy'. M. Pichler, a newcomer, submitted 'Une Fete Venitienne', on which our staccato notes are amusing: Hash-up of old stuff; led to a row; yells and groans; lights suddenly put out; orchestra departed; evening over 10:40, 'after three groans for the management, the audience departed.' Dumilatre and Petipa danced their adieux Nov. 19th. On the 22nd, Barrez staged The Devil to Pay (Le Diable a Quatre), with Flora Fabbri, Luigi Bretin, and Julie Dabas as newcomers, and Petit-Stephan back in the company. Fabbri remained on until 31st Jan.

Feb. 2nd, 1846, La Bayadere re-appeared with the regular cast; then, on Feb. 12th, Mlle. Maria and Desplaces were back, and a new name with them, Mlle. Neodot, in The Island Nymph, which held the boards until April 4th. 'The petite and graceful Mme. Giubilei,' the 'vigorous and impassioned Louise,' 'her aerial cousin, Adele,' 'the graceful and buoyant Maria, her style resembling that of Cerrito,' 'Neodot, noticeable in every respect, figure, demeanor, and ability,' Desplaces, 'quiet and unobtrusive,' were all remarked. Drury Lane now staged its first 'La Tarentule', with choreography by Barrez, and Mlle. Maria in Elssler's famous role; the St. Louin sisters were also in the cast.

Earlier Monday (April 13), La Peyrouse, a ballet d'action first seen around 1800 and last staged at Drury Lane in 1825, with Wieland as Chimpanzee (he was then 15), was revived, with Wieland again dominating the scene; but the piece was found too antiquated even for him and the 'graceful dancing' of Louise and Proche-Giubilei to carry. A week later, Barrez presented Imelda, with Mlle. Sali and M. Mathis, both from La Scala, to whet interest. The piece was considered dull and long drawn, but Sali and Mathis were favorably remarked. On May 4th Giselle was revived for these visitors. May 5th to 20th came the Viennese Children, en route to America. 'The audience survived it all and seemed to appreciate the youngsters.' (Lita Smith)

On June 3rd, Sylvain produced Paquita for Carlotta Grisi, with himself, Sali, and Mathis, also in the cast. June 19, 20, 22, Grisi danced Mazourka, her Paris creation, in The Devil to Pay, and the season closed. But Grisi and Sylvain and a number of the troupe went to the Queen's Theatre for a season.

That Autumn, 1846, Flora Fabbri, with M. and Mme. Theodore, opened the new season, with Luigi

Bretin's The Offspring of Flowers (Oct. 3); Giselle came back (Oct. 8) and The Devil to Pay (Oct. 14), while on Oct. 29th, Anita Dubignon and Adele Benart first appeared in an old favorite, The Maid of Cashmere. A new divertissement, Une Kermes, was seen briefly in November.

Nov. 16th, Barrez returned with the latest Paris sensation, Sofia Fuoco and 'Betty', here produced as 'The Wags of Wapping', a great success. 'Fuoco's engagement was three times more profitable than Grisi's of the year (season) before.' (Lita Smith) Fuoco made history wherever she appeared. On Dec. 2nd, the regular company presented 'Le Vervain, a Comic Spanish Ballet'—very well received by a small audience.

About this time, Lita Smith's manuscript grows rhapsodic over 'Fabri's nervous legs and twinkling feet—Fuoco's voluptuous and well moulded legs—Plunkett's fascinating ankles—Carlotta Grisi's first and elastic toe.' One wonders what sources she drew from?

With Christmas, Fabbri and Fuoco were gone; the regular company kept The Wags of Wapping, etc., in the bills in January, when the Pantomime allowed. But with Feb. 4th a great name in ballet history arrived at Drury Lane, Carlo Blasis, with his favorite pupil, Marietta Roselle Baderna, and Ferdinando Croce, all of La Scala, Milan, presenting The Pretty Sicilian. The Times praised both the piece and its dancers, but observed that 'its slight structure and paucity of action proclaim it of Italian origin.' On March 4th, Blasis presented Baderna in 'Spanish Gallantries', a modest work much enjoyed for its dancing.

Finally, Bunn took his Benefit March 15th, the ballet department staging La Pleiade de Terpsichore, 'a grand pas de sept', 'the first ever attempted,' with Baderna, Dubignon, Proche-Giubilei, Benart, Louise, Adele, and one of the St. Louins. But this, we imagine, was a London version of a Grand Pas that Blasis had earlier composed for La Scala for that 'Pleiade' of his prize pupils of which he has written at length.

Bunn was again in deep waters. In the Winter, Jullien and Gye took over Drury Lane for a season of grand opera and ballet. The Times devotes much attention to the operatic offerings, but we did not happen upon a single mention of the ballet. Benjamin Barnett was ballet master; Proche-Giubilei, Melanie Duval, Louise, Valte, and Messrs. W. H. Harvey and Chapino, were the featured dancers. Dec. 6th, La Genie du Globe was presented and danced until Christmas. On Jan. 29th L'Invitation a la Fete followed, with M. Zavystowski, an excellent artist, long to be seen in London and to appear also over here. On Feb. 3rd, Fuoco returned; she and Zavystowski danced a Grand Pas De Deux and she a Pas Seul, La Rondeja, almost nightly until Feb. 25th, when the Season closed.

The Autumn of 1848 Bunn was back again, but at Covent Garden, with a tempting ballet announcement for the season: Mlles. Plunkett, Fuoco, Celeste Stephan (who had recently bowed to London at a lesser house and been approved), Moncelet, Gaillot,



Arnal, Louise, and Maywood (principal dancer at the San Carlo, Naples); MM. L. Petipa, Desplaces, Jules (La Scala), Paulo, W. H. Payne, T. Matthews, Cormack (Liverpool), Mazilier (first time in 8 years) and Durand (the most renowned dancer now on the Continent). 'An entirely new ballet will be produced for the debut of Mdlle. Maywood.'

Barrez inaugurated the season (Oct. 9) with The Amazons (Paris Opera 'Nisida'), starring Plunkett and Petipa. The work received lukewarm reviews. The Devil to Pay (Oct. 25) and The Peri (Nov. 11) were revived. L'Invitation a la Fete and a Bal Masque divertissement were occasionally given. But with Dec. 9th, two months after opening, the season terminated abruptly. Bunn was out again; Augusta did not arrive.

At Drury Lane, in February, 1851, Azael, an English version of Auber's L'Enfant Prodiges, was produced, with Victorine Legrain as Lia and Mlles. Louise, Palser, Julie, as Almees. The piece played upwards of 80 times. In April, Une Soiree de Carnaval was danced, with Legrain in 'her celebrated La Manola, Pas Espagnole' and Adelaide Adele making her debut. But the new manager was ruined; Risley's Circus followed and netted a snug fortune in a few months.

In August, 1851, Bunn again took over Drury Lane. On Feb. 6th, 1852, Vert-Vert, then a recent Paris Opera success, was offered, with Plunkett, De Vecchi, and M. Durand (at last arrived, and, like Grahn and others that Bunn had first brought to London, destined to join the Opera forces). Old names were again found with him—Louise, Adele, the Paynes, Chapino, Jo and Henry Marshall, etc., and new ones also, Annetta (Orsini?), Palser, D'Antonie, M. Tresidor. On the whole, London did not greatly care for Vert-Vert.

Feb. 21st, a Bal Travestie divertissement was staged and then, Feb. 24th, The Star of the Rhine, with Plunkett. This was an unequivocal success, danced upwards of 40 times in three months. The Devil to Pay, Giselle, and Une Fete Napolitaine, were also revived. The season closed May 20th with The Star of the Rhine, and with it Bunn's ballet career.

Alfred Bunn was the greatest impresario of ballet on the English stage in the Romantic Decades; he gave London the finest ballet seen on that stage in the 19th century. The Empire and Alhambra productions late in the century were of a quite different character, a survival under a new aspect; they belonged to the Music Hall environment. Not until the Russian invasion of the present century was the English stage to take up once again the great tradition in the grand manner. As a result of that cross fertilizing, an English, a native, indigenous grand ballet was to arise once again in London—notably, in the Vic-Wells establishment.

Bunn did not, of course, found the English Ballet. An English Ballet has existed for centuries. But he did once again bring it to the fore as a major theatre offering, 1833-52, as Weaver and Rich had done a century before. A journal of his time allowed,



Plate XV. Cat. No. 83

Emma Harding

in 1851, that 'no manager in this country has done more for our native artists.' The title certainly became Bunn as regarded ballet, as the Gilberts, the Marshalls, the O'Bryans, the Websters, Wieland, and others would have been the first to attest.

The impresario plays a crucial role in the fortunes of ballet and its artists. Ebers, Laporte, and Lumley, at the London Opera were balletomanes all. The glories of the Romantic Ballet there did not just naturally happen. Ebers' effective diplomacy opened a new era in ballet at the Opera. French Laporte's instinctive taste in the art profitted the Opera richly in the 1830's. It was he who first brought Taglioni, the Elsslers, Grisi, Cerrito, Perrot, Pallerini, Ronzani, etc., to London.

Lumley might have cut the Gordian knot that eventually spelled his ruin at the Opera, had he been willing to break with tradition, to sacrifice his ballet activities. That was a flag over Her Majesty's that he refused to haul down. In 1857 all the tides operatic in London were running against the grand

ballet. Lord Ward, in whose power Lumley's tenancy of the Opera and his financial survival lay, wrote him: 'It strikes me you have an enormous ballet. I do not know how you will place them all.' Anybody could read between the lines of that note. Lumley merely remarked: 'Indeed, so far from any neglect being shown to the ballet, more than usual exertions had been made. . . .' Theatrical managers have their loyalties over and above considerations purely material and financial. In his Reminiscences, Lumley remained impenitent to the last. He put the blame for the disappearance of grand ballet at the Opera where it belonged—not on ballet, as some modern writers supinely agree to do, but on the fickleness and unreasonableness of London Opera audiences.

Bunn's only trouble was, not that ballet ever failed him, but that it alone could not shoulder the whole load, could not make up for his losses in drama and opera. Always, ballet on his stage more than paid its way.

So far our subject has been presented in great swatches, in mass effects. We fixed on the Gilberts and Bunn not merely in themselves, but because the former headed a troupe or troupes of dancers and the latter was a *deus ex machina* of the art. In their careers ballet as a full-bodied theatrical art on the English stage is continually to the fore.

#### WHO'S WHO

In pursuing that 'institution' by means of those persons, we have come upon many interesting names, only to move on, following our thread. Yet there are dancers there that any interested reader will want to know better, a bit more distinctly than those fleeting glimpses have afforded. We can handle only a few of them, and that few but sketchily, for reasons both of space and of our limited knowledge. We submit some short biographical notes—thumb-sketches from faded daguerreotypes. They serve in part to fill in various lacunae in the over-all picture.

Today, Markova and Dolin, Tudor, Franklin, and Laing, are names known wherever ballet is now known in our land; Howard and Ashton and others also belong to our annals. Of dancers prominent in London who have not ventured abroad, as de Valois, Bedells, Argyle, Helpman, Turner, etc., Americans are apt to be less familiar. But nobody will find the idea that London boasts many notable native artists today in the least strange. Indeed, one takes for granted there the existence of an English Ballet and of an English School of Ballet. The only surprising, even incredible idea would be the lack of a like condition in the scintillating decades of the Romantic Ballet in London. Why should London dancers of a century ago have been any less notable artists than the London Dancers of today?

#### THE BYRNES

In point of time the Byrnes are the first of the English dancing families that should be mentioned. We begin with James, even though he antedates our period. He was the son of an English dancer and

ballet master, of whom we shall say nothing here. He left his indelible imprint on the history of English Pantomime, as enthusiasts for that art note with a mixture of admiration and rue. For James Byrne, the dancer, choreographer, and ballet master of around 1800, was also Byrne of the Christmas Pantomime who 'revolutionized' Harlequin. He it was who discarded the loose-fitting Watteau costume traditional since the days of Weaver and Rich, for fleshings, when skintight trousers were all the fashion, and invented the swank Harlequins of what we now call 'the Directoire type'. Being primarily a dancer, he also poured his art into that aspect of his role. The 'five attitudes' in which Harlequin had always posed and no others, passing swift as a flash from one to another, Byrne limbered up, elaborated, added rhythm and flow to. 'His attitudes and jumps were all new, and his dress was infinitely improved; the latter consisted of a white silk shape, fitting without a wrinkle, into which variegated silk patches were woven, the whole being profusely covered with spangles.' Thus Grimaldi's *Memoirs* by Dickens put it. The costume was exceedingly costly, dazzling, and svelt. The diamonds of many colors were a French touch, but the white silk ground and the passementeries were Byrne's own idea. He set a style that lasted on for decades. James Byrne was for many years First Dancer and ballet master at Drury Lane, even down to 1816, perhaps later.

It was there that Oscar Byrne, born circa 1795, (just about Albert's age), first appeared on the stage, around 1803, but memorably in 1804, in a bit called 'Old Harlequin's Fireside'. In that, James Byrne played an 'old Harlequin sitting in an inglenook while Time rocked a cradle. A little Harlequin boy appeared and passed rapidly through all the stages of life by means of ingenious contrivances. The old Harlequin, descending into the grave, handed his sword to the child, who was told by the protecting genius "always to exert his power in the cause of virtue".' (Disher) The action has the quality of a symbol, where a living art is handed on from generation to generation, even in the same family.

The young Oscar trained under his father and, doubtless, under other masters, and travelled extensively, both about the Isles and abroad. On 11 May, 1809, Armand Vestris took his Benefit at the London Opera in a new grand pantomime ballet, *Le Calife de Bagdad*, in which, the posters announced, 'Master Oscar Byrne will make his first appearance'. He was then in his middle 'teens. The ballet was a great success and Oscar continued to appear at the Opera, native and young though he was, 1810-11-12-14. In 1816 he was back again, and even the Times felt constrained to allow: 'Mr. Oscar Byrnes has been added to the corps of dancers . . . and has already taken his place in the foremost ranks.'

That same year, 1816, Oscar was also First Dancer at Drury Lane, and most years regularly until 1824. He had married by 1820, whom we have



never learned, but an excellent dancer, and from 1820 on, Mr. and Mrs. Byrne and Mr. and Mrs. Noble were Drury Lane's four First Dancers. The Byrnes disappeared from the bills during 1824; in December, 1826, Mrs. Byrne died. In 1828, Oscar returned to Drury Lane, looking 'as young and silly as he used to do', and dancing, if anything, better than ever. The 'silly' there simply means fresh and unspoiled.

With him, Oscar now brought his two children, Rosa and Oscar Jr., the fourth generation of the dancing Byrnes. Rosa was noted as 'very young' but 'most finished' in her art and a decided acquisition, when she made her debut in a petite divertissement, *The Birthday*. Later, in *Little Goody Two Shoes*, a Rustic Ballet, she was remarked as a 'sweet little creature—her pantomime as good as her dancing—both excellent', and the whole ballet as going off with the greatest eclat. After 'Masaniello', in 1829, the Byrnes depart Drury Lane, Oscar had 'renovated' the ballet there in 1828. Rosa must have married; we have lost track of the young Byrnes. Oscar now gradually specialized in choreography. He was at the Olympic for a number of years; he was ballet master for the Vestris-Mathews at Covent Garden, then for Charles Kean at the Princess's, later at Her Majesty's and also, 1862 on, at Drury Lane once again. 'In his own line, Oscar Byrne showed both invention and resource,' observes the Dictionary of National Biography. What more valuable qualities does one look for in a ballet master? He died suddenly, 4 Sept., 1867, aged 73, leaving a young wife and seven children.

#### ANN ADAMS BARRYMORE

In 1816, (and for many years) the Misses Ann and E. Adams were Principal Dancers at Astley's, where a Mr. Ridgway was ballet master. The latter was probably the father of the Ridgway brothers whose pantomimic art was so much praised around 1840. Ann Adams was regarded as one of the most gifted of English dancers. She married the actor, William Barrymore. In the 1820's and 1830's, she was a First Dancer and choreographer at Drury Lane. In 1840, the Barrymores came to America and Mrs. Barrymore opened a school in Boston. She also produced a number of ballets and specialty numbers for the Tremont Theatre. These often featured a Miss Fanny Jones, Boston's local favorite (native or English we cannot say), during the years that Ellsler, Celeste, and Augusta were visiting the city. William Barrymore died in Boston in 1845. His widow returned to England and died there in 1862.

#### JAMES SYLVAIN

A French obituary of James Sylvain, *artiste chorégraphe*, in an Almanac of 1857, published by Jules Janin, records that he died April 12, 1856, aged 48. This would have him born around 1808. The Harvard Catalogue says that he was a brother of the actor, Barry Sullivan, born 1829, but the English Dictionary of National Biography has the latter born 1821, and mentions no brother who was on the stage, nor does it allot our dancer a notice.



Plate XVI. Cat. No. 193-9 'Master & Miss Marshall'

In June, 1824, Charles and Ronzi Vestris took their Benefit at the London Opera in *Le Page Inconstant*. In the announcement of the ballet, after the 'Cast' stands 'Dancers: MM. Leblanc, Faucher, Sullivan; Mlles. Julie Aumer, Leroux, Bougleux'. Sullivan was then in his middle 'teens and already in good company. That year and the next he was also to be found at the Haymarket. And that is the last that we have ever seen or heard of James Sullivan. He managed to get abroad and to continue his studies in Paris. When M. Anatole brought him back to London in 1833 as Duvernay's partner in *The Sleeping Beauty*, he was billed as 'M. Sylvain de l'Academie Royale de Musique'—which explains everything.

Sylvain was in London on the English stage various seasons, 1833-39. In 1840 he came to America with Ellsler. Sylvain did not again appear upon the boards of the London Opera until almost two decades after 1824, in 1843, when he returned there as Ellsler's partner and a First Dancer. It was probably due to her representations that he went there then. Even so, the Times only remarked, with complete aloofness: 'The principal male dancer was M. Sylvain, a young man who has appeared at some of the English theatres, and whose performance evinces much strength and excellent taste.' Not a word that he was billed on the program as from the Paris Opera and making 'his debut at this theatre'; not a word that he was a native son who had begun his career on those very boards. Try to find another national capital that would then have been so indifferent to native talent, first launched on its own stages, later acclaimed abroad, eventually returning to appear at the Opera in its own capital.

Sylvain was the most widely known English

dancer in his generation, of a truly international reputation. His contributions to ballet in London were many, both as dancer and as choreographer. It is a pity that this distinguished artist died so young—at home, in England, says Lita Smith. He never made himself an expatriate.

Sylvain poses the problem once again of the difficulty of tracing English dancers who changed—continentalized—their names. He also poses the further problem: Did other English dancers go to the Continent, make a name for themselves there, and then either stay there or return on occasion to London?

A number of British names do turn up prominently in the Romantic Ballet on the Continent. There was, for instance, Giovanina King, popular in Italy. There are Kings found in ballet in London in the 1820's and on. They never figured large there; but once, when Wieland injured himself at the Adelphi, a Mr. King took over his role until he recovered. Of Giovanina's origins we know nothing. She was a product of Blasis' School at La Scala, Milan. She figured large in Italian annals in the 1840's.

In Paris there were the Fitzjameses, Louise and Nathalie. When Duvernay suddenly decided to quit the stage and completely disrupted Laporte's 1838 season, Nathalie was hastily brought over and some vehicles scrambled together for her to bridge the gap until Taglioni came. After a few appearances, she departed as suddenly as she had come, never to return. Fitzjameses are also found on the English boards, both as actors and as dancers; but whether England may claim that Paris Opera pair of renown, we cannot say.

Then there were the Carey boys—Edouardo, Gustavo, and, we have been told, still another. M. Lefebvre introduced Edouardo to the London Opera as his pupil in 1831. In 1843 a M. Carey partnered Pauline Leroux at Drury Lane. '(Rather an English name for a Monsieur)', the Times interpolated, but never supplied the answer. The name Carré keeps cropping up in Paris Opera programs in Romantic times and is also associated with La Scala, Milan, and with Vienna. Dr. Michel considers that these boys belonged to a French family, sons of a ballet master who worked in Sweden. (See 'Dance', Nov., 1943) Miss Winter is digging away at her theory that 'Gustavo may have been, like Edmund Kean, one of the four fabulous great-grandchildren of the notable and eccentric British composer Henry Carey.' (See Dance Index, Jan. 1943, p. 10)

And what of the Piersons? Is that name British, Scandinavian, or French? Who were the M. and Mme. Pierson at the Porte St. Martin around 1820? the Louise Pierson featured there around 1824 and with the Taglionis in Stuttgart two years later? and the Zelig Pierson in Paris and London in the 1840's? M. Capon has noted a Paris obituary of 'one named Louise Francoise Vestris, born in 1779, widow of Sylvestre Pierson, died in Paris . . . 1 April, 1846'. Was there Vestris blood in the veins

of these Piersons? (And what is the significance of Clara Webster's middle name, Vestris?)

There is also the puzzling question of the Dance-Dors. Back in 1816 a 'M. Louis Dore' (Dores is also found) was a principal dancer at the Strand (Sans Pareil) Theatre. There was also a Charles Dance identified with London theatrical interests. He was a dramatic writer. In 1833 a 'Mlle. Josephine (pupil of M. D'Egville)', was at the Haymarket in 'A Pasticchio Dance'. In 1835, M. D'Egville featured a Mlle. Josephine Dance (debut, from Paris) in his Haymarket ballets. Later, a Mlle. Josephine Danse and a M. Louis D'Or were Vienna's special delights; they married, and their children followed in their footsteps, becoming dancers. Who was the Louis D'Or at the London Opera 1847 on and what were his antecedents and his blood?

Mr. Sitwell claims Adeline Plunkett as English, but on what grounds he does not say and we cannot imagine. She first came to London as Planquet in 1843. The next year she returned as Plunkett and stayed that way. About this change of name, there can be no doubt; 'She was Planquet last year,' dryly remarked the Times, 11 March, 1844. Mme. Doche was her sister; both were, we believe, Brussels born and Belgian, as Charles Hervey reported in 1846. Or can Mr. Sitwell show otherwise, such matters being elusive? If Plunkett was English, that should be put beyond doubt, for she was an artist of first water. But an unsubstantiated flat claim is of no worth.

Alas, we have plagued the reader with a dozen questions to which we have ourselves found no answers. Yet it is only by raising these questions that they are ever likely to be answered. We have probably been very stupid and not consulted the right books.

All that can be said at this writing is that some English names turn up prominently here and there on the Continent. A few of them do occasionally impinge on the London scene, but only Sylvain frequently and vividly. Most of these dancers showed no desire to cross the channel or London any particular desire to bring them over or to fete them as national exhibits when they came. The Byrnes, Sylvain, Flexmore, Matthews, Lydia Thompson, and others, danced on the Continent, in one fashion and another. The Continent certainly knew that England had dancers of its own and some excellent ones. But England wanted artists from abroad. Because English dancers were of inferior talent? London may insist so; we remain unconvinced. The native register, a century ago, as today, seems to us against such a conclusion.

## THE O'BRYANS

The O'Bryans (O'Brien, Obrien) were, we take it, brother and sister. They are difficult to bring to life, simply because so elusive. We have only a series of scattered appearances to record (see Tables) and one exquisite lithograph. They were both members of intermediate standing in the Opera



hierarchy, being featured in its announcements eight or ten times in as many different years, stretching from 1827 to 1848. On the English stage their activities are easier to trace. Among other appearances of note, Miss O'Bryan was featured at Drury Lane in a *Grand Pas de Deux* with Lucile Grahn, introduced in *The Revolt of the Harem*, in 1844. As the *Pas* was 'composed expressly by' Grahn herself, we may be sure that it had quality and importance. In 1843-44 the brother was Sub-Ballet Master and in the latter year he choreographed at least one ballet there. Later he was ballet master at one theatre and another.

### THE MARSHALLS

The Marshalls have already been remarked frequently under the Gilbert. They were primarily demi-caractere and ball-room dancers, though Miss Marshall danced Myrtha in *'The Night Dancers'*, Loder's much admired ballad opera version of *Giselle*, at the Princess's in 1847. There would seem to have been at least five of this dancing family, but only three attained any place of note. In one of their early appearances, at the Haymarket, 'Master and Miss Marshall' were announced as Pupils of Mr. Gilbert.

Mary Ann (Polly) Marshall was a featured dancer from around 1830 on. *The Times* remarked, in 1844; 'The Genius of the Bell was very prettily played by Miss Marshall, who is not only a clever dancer, but is rising in fame as an actress.' She has been reported by Lita Smith as born in 1813; married a M. Zerman; visited America, 1856-62; died 1878.

Master Jo (seph) Marshall, according to the same source, was born in the 1820's. He was a stock Cupid at Drury Lane for years, and joined his sister as a featured dancing pair in the mid-1830's. In 1839 the *Theatrical Observer* entered: 'Master Marshall performs the part of a Gnome (in *The King of the Mist*) with a great deal of grotesque grace; he is an exceedingly clever boy and promises to tread closely in the footsteps of Wieland.' When he died, in 1873, he was ballet master at Drury Lane. Henry Marshall emerges later. He was given good roles at the Princess's in the late '40's. In the 1850's the Marshalls again returned to Drury Lane. In 1845 (among other years) 'Mr. and Miss Marshall' had an academy of dancing and deportment in London on the side. They taught all the fashionable ball-room dances and announced themselves (with right) as 'of the Theatres Royal Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Princess's'.

### THE WEBSTERS

The Websters were another of the English dancing families. We have learned far too little about them to satisfy us. Benjamin Webster was the dancing son of a dancing father. John Coleman describes him as 'one of the most generally accomplished men that ever put foot upon a stage. He was a singularly versatile actor, a facile and experienced playwright, a splendid dancer, and he "played the fiddle like an angel".' At the Haymarket (1844), he adds, 'I saw him dance the Polka (divinely, as I



Plate XVII. Cat. No. 193-10 Proche-Giubilei & Gilbert

thought) with Mme. Celeste in a little piece called "The Trumpeter's Daughter".' However, Benjamin's fame lies not in the realm of the dance, though it was an art that he loved and that first launched him on his theatrical and, later, managerial career. He gets into our illustrations only because of Celeste and a delectable old ballet print; but he was for years a ballet dancer.

What troubles us is what relation was Benjamin to Clara and Arthur Webster? Lita Smith is of two minds: a cousin and a half-brother, she records at different times; she is a useful but not very reliable source in such matters. A Mr. Webster, and even more, a Mrs. Webster, keep appearing insignificantly in ballet announcements in the 1820's and 1830's. The latter was probably the mother of Clara and Arthur.

We have first come across 'Miss Clara' and 'Master Arthur' at the Haymarket, with Benjamin Webster as lessee of that house, in 1839, she dancing a *Cachucha* and he an incidental number as entr'actes. Clara was then around 15-16 years old. They were next engaged by Macready at Drury Lane, but he had little for them to do. In Gay's *Serenata*, *Acis and Galatea*, the Websters were among the Sicilian Shepherds and Shepherdesses; in *King Arthur*, Clara was the Vision of Flora. Of 'La Gazza Ladra', Jan., 1843, Lita Smith enters: 'The *Pas Styrien* danced by Mr. and Miss Webster was much appreciated. Hitherto these young folks had been known as Master Arthur and Miss Clara. They were relations of Benj. Webster.'

Bunn inherited them when he took over Drury Lane that Autumn. He had many uses for them, and Clara unfolded as a flower. She was just 19 then.

Her entire fame—for local fame she had already established before tragedy poignantly pointed up the brief months of her true career—belongs to the fifteen months, 30th Sept., 1843—14th Dec., 1844. She then appeared successively in *The Beauty of Ghent*, *Lady Henrietta*, a revival of *The Revolt of The Harem*, *La Peri*, *The Devil in Love*, etc., etc. By the Autumn of 1844 London would seem suddenly to have waked up and decided that it had in its midst a ravishing dancer who gave every promise of achieving international greatness. An unusual tribute, in the *Times* of 2 Oct., 1844, seems especially worth quoting: A pas which was introduced in the ball scene (of *Cinderella*) and which is of the genus *Mazurka*, deserves mention, not only because it is a very pretty dance of the kind, but for the sake of Miss Clara Webster, who executed it with Mme. Proche-Giubilei. Miss Clara Webster is perhaps the only English danseuse who has attained that firmness, freedom, and confidence which distinguishes the artists of the continent. Her movements in this pas were broad, unimpeded, and elastic, given in the best and most vigorous style. It was loudly and deservedly encored.' We do not recall another such unequivocal review of an English danseuse in the pages of the *Times* during the whole Romantic era.

Of her horrifying accident, 14 Dec., 1844, while dancing in *The Revolt of the Harem*, Mr. Beaumont has told in a few words. 'The part of Zulma . . . (was) taken by Clara Webster, one of the most promising of English dancers. It was while taking this part that she lost her life as the result of a tragic accident. . . . This occurred in the second act, when Zulma and her friends are frolicking in the bath. There were two baths, one before the other; the dancers stood in an opening about three feet wide. There were some oil lamps a little beneath the stage, and it was thought that the dancer's gauzy dress touched the flame of one of the lamps and so became ignited. The whole episode lasted barely two minutes. But the dancer was found to be severely burnt and after much suffering expired a few days later. (17th Dec.) It is extraordinary to record that, notwithstanding so terrible an accident to the principal dancer, the ballet, after some delay, was continued, and concluded in the usual way.' (*Complete Book of Ballets*, p. 119.)

Arthur Webster's subsequent career we have not followed. He danced at Drury Lane, the Adelphi, etc., but we have never found anything of particular note about him.

#### PROCHE-GIUBILEI

Mlle. Augustine Proche is an ideal example of a foreign artist who became English by adoption and grace, no longer any outsider but an integral part of the English Ballet in London. She came from the Paris Opera and made her London debut modestly enough at the London Opera in 1831. It would look almost as though she never from then on found time, opportunity, or desire to re-cross the channel; especially after 1832-33 when she married the bass singer, Giubilei.

Proche returned to the Opera fold various seasons. In 1834, when Veron had spirited the Ellsers away right under Laporte's blinking and unbelieving eyes and Taglioni fell ill just after, Proche was hastily appealed to. She was a useful and a resourceful dancer and London liked her. For the rest, Proche was with Bunn practically steadily until his failure in 1839.

That Autumn the Proche-Giubileis came to America, with the Paul Taglionis. The American reporter for the London Theatrical Observer kept an alert eye on the Giubileis when over here.

Only Charles Kean was more enthusiastically received in New York than this couple, the reporter wrote back. At the Park, (Sept., 1839) Giubilei's 'charming wife was greeted with the most deafening cheers by a house crammed to the ceiling; the reception which awaited more particularly Mme. Giubilei must have indeed been most gratifying to herself and friends. She danced a *Pas de Deux* with M. Taglioni and in a very elegant *Pas de Trois* with the Taglionis in the Ballet of *Nathalie*. She is petite, naive, and elegant in all her movements, and made a decided and powerful hit. We are told, however, that certain parties attempted to dance her down, to seize the praise offered to her, and wrest it to another quarter, but we hope this was not the case.'

On her return to London, Proche went to the Adelphi (1841), where her former co-worker, Wieland, was, to dance *Fleur-des-Champs* in his production of *The Daughter of the Danube*, and other roles. In 1843 she rejoined Bunn's company, on his return to Drury Lane, and remained in it until her death. Giubilei died in 1845, when only 44 years old, and Proche followed him three years later, 1848, dancing steadily until that very year. The early deaths of both these young artists within so short a time left, as the papers of the day lamented, their four young children destitute. One of these would seem to have been old enough by then, perhaps in her middle 'teens, to have been already appearing in Bunn's troupe.

For eighteen years Proche-Giubilei pleased the audiences of both London stages, the Opera and the English boards. She had no career anywhere else, except for her brief American interlude when Bunn failed.

#### CELINE CELESTE

Celine Celeste belongs to the same category of dancers as Proche-Giubilei, but with a wide difference. Her later fame as an actress has tended to leave her place and abilities as a dancer under a shadow. Mr. Beaumont, who includes a lovely lithograph of Emma Harding in his select list ignores the existence of Celeste. Mr. Sitwell rates her only as high as Louise Fairbrother and regards them both as 'actresses, or professional beauties, who danced, but not . . . professional dancers.'

Fairbrother was not much as a dancer, though she became something more than a coryphee. She was truly one of 'the Pets of the Ballet'. However,



a right royal morganatic marriage has done wonders to keep her memory green and there are delicious prints of her.

Harding, however, was a dancer-actress rather than a dancer who also acted. She is known in America as an actress. She was one of Celeste's Adelphi troupe years on end, but she certainly did not begin to measure up to Celeste as a dancer and could not hold a candle to her as an actress.

English theatrical history has done well by Celeste. It is surprising to find her thus slighted in English ballet history. For her career as an actress, the reader is referred to the long article on her in the English Dictionary of National Biography (and other volumes, including Prof. Odell's History of the New York Stage). In the solid and conservative tomes of that Dictionary, Fairbrother and Harding are not even mentioned; indeed, it stops short of much finer actresses and dancers than they ever were.

Celine Celeste was born in Paris 1811-14 (nobody is clear as to the exact year). Having trained there in both dancing and acting, and been an entirely minor figure in the Paris Opera ballet, Celeste did the unexpected; she did not go to England, she came directly to America, and she made her world debut as a solo dancer of pretensions in New York in 1827 and created a sensation. It may be allowed that her youth and her beauty had much to do with this—at the start. But when have they not, with every dancer who enjoyed such advantages? She toured America for three years, acquired a non-descript husband named Elliott who proved to be a complete liability, a daughter whom she adored, and a snug pittance against the future. In 1830 she sailed from New Orleans and landed in Liverpool.

There Celeste made her bow to England as a dancer. She was brought on to London, where, in 1831, she and her sister, Constance Keppler (both announced as from the Paris Opera, which Keppler could really claim, but Celeste only after a fashion) appeared at Drury Lane in a divertissement, dancing 'their celebrated Tyrolese'. The Dictionary says that she first appeared as the Dumb Arab Boy in *The French Spy*, 'a piece written especially to show her talent', at the Queen's Theatre, this same year, and later danced to good effect in *The Poetry of Motion*, at the Surrey. Then she disappeared from the London scene for more than a year.

Celeste was back the Autumn of 1833, when Bunn had acquired both the Patent houses, and danced Fenella in *Masaniello* and other prominent roles at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Then, that December, she made a decided impression as the Principal Folly in Bunn's vastly successful new offering, *Gustavus III*. In February, 1834, she was Atargul in the first *Revolt of the Harem*, creating the part in London. The Times singled out for remark 'the graceful and eloquent pantomime of Mlle. Pauline Leroux, and the extraordinary precision and startling tours de force which characterized the dancing of Mlle. Celeste.' But she soon resigned this role to Miss O'Bryan and departed for America and a phenomenally successful tour of three years,



Plate XVIII. Cat. No. 14 'The Dumb Arab Boy'

said to have netted her a cool \$200,000.00.

The autumn of 1837 Celeste was back once again in London, dancing *The Maid of Cashmere*, and appearing in *The Child of the Wreck* and *The French spy*, as a dancer-mime. The elegant English prints of Celeste in these roles belong to this season. Had she, like Duvernay at that same time, chosen to make a rich marriage (or worse), rested on her laurels and her comfortable fortune and simply ceased her theatrical career, balletophiles would still be deploring what a ravishing dancer as well as stage beauty had betrayed her art. For up to now, ten years since she was first seen in America, Celeste had never assumed a spoken role in either country; her eloquence had all been poured into her dancing and miming and on these alone she had placed herself in the forefront of theatrical artists in the English-speaking world. It was her artistry as a dancer that had drawn her crowded houses, and these continued to applaud her dancing for a quarter century in London and for more than three decades in America.

In the meantime, Celeste had toured Italy, Germany, Spain, France, and she continued to appear on the Continent from time to time for many years and also to make American tours down to around

1870. In the later 1850's she ceased to do anything much in the way of dancing, but not before. She had made England and America her chosen world and she had gradually mastered the language—well, sufficiently to hazard appearing in a speaking role. This was in 1837 and the vehicle was Bayle Bernard's *St. Mary's Eve*. The role called for both acting and dancing. This was to be the usual Celeste formula for the next twenty years.

It was at the Adelphi that Celeste had first appeared in *St. Mary's Eve*. In 1843, she and Benjamin Webster became associated in theatre management and in 1844, with Webster as lessee, Celeste entered upon her management of that same London house. Ballets and ballet burlettas had long been a regular part of its typical offerings. Had not, first, Wieland, and then Proche-Giubilei with him, spent some seasons there, just as the Auriol-Flexmores and also Maraquita and Benoni were to do in Celeste's time?

We have no intention here to go into the subject of the ballet burlettas of Romantic times or to attempt to distinguish when some piece staged at the Adelphi at this time was a 'serious ballet', a 'ballet spectacle', or a 'ballet burletta'. (We use *burletta* rather than *burlesque*, because the latter word has come today to have alien associations not present in these Romantic pieces.) After a fashion, all three sorts of works would seem to have held the boards at one time and another. But to give any one of them asked a full and able ballet troupe with proficient soloists. Such a company was always present there and never better equipped, better headed and directed, or more abundantly used than when Celeste was on the scene, which was most years from 1844 to around 1859.

It was here, the reader may recall, that the first of the three celebrated versions of *Le Diable à Quatre* that competed at one time for London's patronage was staged in 1845 as 'Taming a Tartar or Magic and Mazurkaphobia.' Here, in part, is what the *staid Times* had to say of that offering. '... This (plot) is the slight framework upon which a most beautiful and amusing spectacle is constructed. The costumes, which are of the Bohemian character, are superb and the piece is filled throughout with the most lively and well executed dancing. The "real Bohemian Polka", by Wright and Mme. Celeste, who play the basket-maker and his wife, is one of the most exhilarating bits of nationality that could be devised and is excellently danced by both. The *Pas de Fascination*, likewise by Mme. Celeste, is admirably executed; the lady quits the burlesque for the while and becomes a dancer of a high order ... As for the dances by coryphees and the corps de ballet, a running fire of them seems to be kept up through the whole ... A vision discovering the realms of light, inhabited by young ladies in white muslin, and the concluding scene of a conservatory decorated for a ball, are worthy of any stage, and the wonder is how so much could be produced in so limited a space. For the grouping and the general action, which keeps the stage in such constant animation, we are indebted to the zeal and good

taste of Mme. Celeste. No success could be greater or better deserved ...'

Or take another instance, two years later; incidentally, the work of which the delicious Harding lithograph is a souvenir. 'The subject of *Giselle* lays a fast hold on the London public, always reappearing in a fresh shape, and always obtaining a fresh success. Mr. Loder's treatment of the story in an operatic form is the principal musical event of the season; and last night we had a new burlesque, called the *Phantom Dancers*, from the pen of Mr. Charles Selby. As a fairy spectacle this new version of *Giselle* is more brilliant than any which have preceded it. Not only are all the well-known effects executed in a novel manner, but others entirely new are introduced. On the death of *Giselle*, at the end of the first act, the curtain does not descend at once, but the landscape changes to a large spectral hall, in which the Wilis receive the new member of their order, the form of *Giselle* being wafted through the air. The stage, on this occasion, is illuminated with blue fire, and the ghastly picturesque which is created, is unique in its kind. The piece is called a "semi-burlesque", and the most striking part of the action is serious. The death of *Giselle*, impressively represented by Mme. Celeste, and the grief of Albert, a smart young gentleman, played by Miss Woolgar, are made to be genuine. . . . The scenic arrangements produced an uproar of approbation, which one seldom sees equalled, even at this fortunate establishment ...'

To go over the record of the Adelphi's ballet offerings, year by year, under Celeste's management, 1844-59, is to be astonished at the wealth and variety of ballet presented there and no less astonished at the successes that those pieces enjoyed when grand ballet at the Opera had been exiled as intolerable to the world of fashion and taste!

Finally, in the mid-1850's, Celeste again claims our attention from another angle, as the fourth and last of our ballet artists to 'revolutionize' English Pantomime. She introduced the Harlequin in travesty on the English scene, her Harlequin a la Watteau. Yet that was a minor incident. The end that she and her collaborators had in view, however fumblingly conceived or achieved, was much more arresting.

The offering was 'a decided novelty in its kind,' said the *Times*, 'being a mixture of the burlesque spectacle and the pantomime proper, Mme. Celeste playing the hero of the first and dancing through the last as Harlequin.' But the punch lies in the advertised character of these works, presented for some years running, 1855 on, at Christmas.

'A New Grand Alliance Entertainment of New Burlesque and Old English Pantomime (as first originated at this theatre)', ran the 1856 poster. And what was this? Here is one title: *Harlequin and the Loves of Cupid and Psyche*. It was a return, intentional, however far-fetched in practice, to the ancient Weaver-Rich pattern, but with a substitution of 'New Burlesque' for Weaver's grotesque mimic dancing after his then 'modern Italian manner.'



Both, however, used the ancient Roman Pantomime and mythology intermixed, with ballet as a major element throughout. 'The dances of the corps de ballet were brilliant.' (Times) We cannot pursue the subject here; it is of unusual interest as being in the direct stream of both the ballet d'action and the pantomime as indigenous to the English stage. It is not the full stream of English Ballet, but it is an ever-present element or part of that stream.

Thus, from 1831 on, for a quarter of a century, Celeste danced in London. Like Flexmore and Byrne and Grimaldi—dancers all and the sons of dancers—she, too, 'revolutionized' pantomime. In her quality and capacity as an artist of ballet, London continued to support and applaud this versatile woman.

Even the Dictionary of National Biography, mainly preoccupied with Celeste's long dramatic career (1837-74), pauses to remark that 'she distinguished herself as a dancer'. While, as to her being merely a professional beauty and no particular theatre artist, the Dictionary adds 'In grace of movement and in picturesqueness Mme. Celeste was surpassed by few actresses of her day. She had, moreover, histrionic gifts, including command of pathos.' It is exactly what might be expected of a dancer-mime turned actress.

Celeste's place is secure in ballet history in America. To consult contemporary London documents is unhesitatingly to classify her as an Amero-English dancer of French birth and an artist of parts.

#### BALLET-PANTOMIME ARTISTS

Today we are entirely accustomed to the idea that ballet is no sealed off world that exists in a vacuum. It is forever overflowing its banks. Balanchine and Ashton, Littlefield and de Mille are as apt to stage a Broadway review or operetta as to offer a new composition for the current ballet season. Most of Patricia Bowman's career has been spent in music halls, though we have seen her dance an exquisite Swan Queen. Paul Haakon's years have also been mostly given to the reviews. Today, when a dancer is in a regular theatre piece, he or she cannot at the same time be in a straight ballet environment.

A century ago that was ordered differently. An artist might appear in a Christmas Pantomime one night and equally prominently in a grand ballet the next or in both the same evening. Should anyone today be following the history of drama, the artist would be put down as an actor; of pantomime, then as a pantomimist—and his or her other activities ignored. But should one follow only the history of ballet during the same period, as we have done, then the artist would be put down as a dancer. This has been done for drama and pantomime in London a century ago but it has not been done for ballet.

Dancers were, of course, regularly found in the Christmas Pantomime as Harlequin and Columbine; James Byrne's fashion lasted on there; these were primarily and sometimes exclusively dancers' roles in Romantic times. 'Harlequins became in such request that managers would scour the Continent in



Plate XIX. Cat. No. 84

Pantomime — 1853

search of the finest dancers. Such artists would rank in these days with the finest ballet dancers. It was fashionable to be a foreigner if you were a Harlequin—hence, many a good Englishman was a 'Herr', 'Mons.', or 'Signor' on the programme.' (Wilson, King Panto)

Neither the Christmas Pantomime nor the Easter Spectacle can detain us here. As to the former, we have never once found either the Gilberts or the O'Bryans or Proche-Giubilei, etc., appearing in it. They were dancer-dancers. At most, they contributed a Pas or so to the Easter Spectacle or to an extravaganza, exactly as the Opera dancers appeared in lyric pieces. But many First and Second Dancers on the English stage appeared as Columbine, one year and another, and even such gifted theatre artists as Mme. Vestris, Celeste, and also Fairbrother. One takes these roles for granted.

What one is not prepared to find is that a number of the most famous of the pantomime characters other than Columbine and Harlequin, as Clown and Pantaloon, were also equally prominent in the ballets, such as 'Payne, the merry monarch of the pantomime; Wieland, the flying musical harlequin; Howell, the slipped pantaloon; the jolly Tom Matthews,' to lift one of Lita Smith's swift summaries, and Flexmore, 'whose devotees were legion', and other grotesque types in the pantomimes. They were not merely useful on occasion in some ballet. They were regularly, as good as invariably, featured in ballet; they rated among the most renowned of



Plate XX. Cat. No. 47

Mlle. Duvernay

London ballet artists, dancers and mimes alike. However, one is unprepared for this for only one reason. The historians of ballet have left these gifted and versatile dancers severely alone, have removed them from their companions as untouchables.

This could not have been done had any attention or consideration been given the ballet playbills, programs, reviews, prints, of the time, for there these artists are omnipresent. Time and again they made major contributions to the very structure of a grand ballet—Wieland, for instance, as Asmodeus in *The Devil on Two Sticks*. Their special genius was capitalized in works not unlike Mr. Tudor's 'The Judgment of Paris' and 'Gala Performance', works that would have delighted the Romantics no less than they do us. It was also to be found finely exhibited in creations paralleling Fokine's *Bluebeard*, the Fokine-Lichine *Helen of Troy*, Massine's *Le Beau Danube* and *Gaiete Parisienne*, and Lich-

ine's *Fair at Sorotchinsk*. In some of these pieces Dolin has shown himself a true heir of the great Romantic character dancers of the English Ballet, Wieland and Flexmore.

It is impossible to think of the Romantic Ballet in London without these skilled and infinitely resourceful and endlessly ebullient artists. It is incredible that their names have so long been left as beyond the pale in the history of the Romantic Ballet there. It is true, Mr. Beaumont has admitted a lovely old print of Flexmore into his catalogue, but of Flexmore himself, one of the most infectious dancers that ever appeared in London and one of the most lovable of stage personalities, not a word is said, to give life to that old print.

The astounding fact is that for modern literature on these dancers one has to turn to the dry pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography* or else to volumes on English Pantomime, as to Mr. A. E. Wilson's work just quoted or to Mr. Wilson Disher's 'Clowns and Pantomimes'. These writers are pantomime enthusiasts. They do not like ballet—i.e., in pantomime. They resent it there as an intrusion. But they do honestly face up to the facts. They do admit, not that these pantomimists also danced but that they were, most of them, ballet artists also prominent in pantomime, and in this stress on ballet they are correct.

The artists themselves probably made no such distinction and considered the two fields one and merely a question of mood and emphasis and temper. Like Celeste, they knew the fine line between the serious and the comic, between the noble and the burlesque, and, more important still, how and when to cross it without loss to either, how to distinguish between what was good taste in ballet and what was good art in pantomime. Technically, as dancers, they were solidly schooled and talented; they had that elusive thing called style. As mimes, English artists were then internationally renowned from of old.

These English dancers were not unexampled. Turn where you will—to France, Austria, Italy—and you will find their like, even in the antics of many artists at the Paris Opera from Dumoulin in the 17th century to Dauberval in the 18th and on to Elie as Polichinelle and Perrot in *Ali Baba* in the 19th. Or turn to another vivid register, at the Theatre de la Porte St. Martin, with the immortal Mazurier at its head. What artists! What unforgettable names in French annals of ballet! What cherished names—Payne, Matthews, Wieland, Flexmore, and their ilk—should be in the annals of English Ballet, of ballet in London. We can only touch on them here, but we do at least enroll them where they belong. (But read those volumes on pantomime just mentioned, and enjoy one of the happiest and most colorful evenings with the ballet ever spent in an easy chair.)

#### THE PAYNES

The Paynes were a veritable tribe in English Ballet, of whom William Henry Schofield Payne



(1804-78) was the head and chief ornament. He was London born. His family intended him for a stockbroker, but he ran away at eighteen and joined a travelling theatrical company. In 1823 he was already in St. Albin's ballet company at the Adelphi; later, he studied under Grimaldi and Bologna at Sadler's Wells. He gave a fine account of himself at the Pavilion in 1825, when his Clown was especially relished. Miss Rountree was his Columbine, whom, all theatre themes to the contrary, he won and married. She had appeared at Covent Garden at various times and there the newlyweds went in 1831.

By her, Payne had four children: (1) Harriet Farrell, who married Aynsley Cook and the two of them took leading roles in operas; (2) Annie, a dancer and mime, who married William Turner; (3) Henry Jr., known as Harry (1833-95), a 'serious dancer' (as the phrase then went), whom fate turned from a Harlequin into a Clown; and (4) Frederick (1841-80), who made his London debut in 1854 and was a noted dancer until he lost his mind in 1877. Another Annie Payne was W. H.'s sister; she was also a dancer and one of the tribe that for years regularly appeared together.

During his long career, says the Dictionary article on W. H., he played many parts, ranging from pantomime to tragedy. 'He prominently figured in grand ballet with Pauline Leroux, Cerrito, Carlotta Grisi, the Elsslers, and other dancers of note, and played in state before George IV, William IV, Victoria, Napoleon III, and the Empress Eugenie.' Around 1850 he figured prominently in the Royal Italian Opera ballet troupe. When he died, in 1878, a writer in the *Spectator* said: 'The last true mime has departed in the person of W. H. Payne.' Yes, and one of England's finest stage personalities, for 'through the whole of his career Payne's private virtues commanded the respect of the profession.'

It is impossible to begin to go into the history of his family, so long a feature of London theaterdom. For thirty years, 1830-60, ballet programs are peppered with their names as with one of the mainstays of the art, while Fred was popular until his illness removed him in 1877 and Harry until his death in 1895. (Since the death of Harry Payne there is little to record, writes Mr. Disher of his Clowns.) W. H., Harry, and Fred, were the famous members of the family, but they were all featured artists in mimetic and in secondary ballet roles that asked a sure touch and a commanding presence to contribute a memorable vignette to an evening's impressions.

### JOLLY TOM MATTHEWS

Thomas Matthews was a year younger than W. H. Payne. He was born in 1805 and died in 1889. He and Payne were lifelong friendly rivals in their art. Matthews began his career in the corps de ballet. Gradually he gained a place for himself in pantomime and succeeded Grimaldi at Sadler's Wells in 1828. But most of his long, long career (he retired



Plate XXI. Cat. No. 87

Mr. T. Matthews

only in 1865) was spent at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, where, in the ballets, he regularly played bits, excruciating or pathetic, but as vividly etched as Callot's *Balli di Slessania*.

Never was Matthews more of a hit than in his spoofing of Elssler and Duvernay in their renowned *Cachucha*. This he first danced in the Drury Lane Christmas Pantomime of 1836-37. It later formed a part of many a *divertissement*, including one in 1837 in which *la Taglioni* appeared! It was given on the same evenings that Duvernay herself danced. The *Devil on Two Sticks* was performed with Duvernay as *Florinda* and Tom as a comic Doctor; then, in the Pantomime that followed, Tom as Clown convulsed the audience with this travesty. Duvernay and Elssler both saw Matthews' burlesque of them and laughingly agreed that the artistry of the burly clown was beyond reproach. As a skilled dancer, Matthews knew just what to point up, what to slur over, and how to do it.

In 1842 Matthews was called to Paris to stage an English Pantomime, *Arlequin*, at the Varieties. It was well received. Gautier found much to praise in it and liked Matthews. 'A parody of the Cachucha, danced by Matthews,' he wrote, 'obtained the greatest success of all among these buffooneries.'

'In accordance with the tradition of theatre clowns,' says Mr. Disher, 'Tom was no mean dancer, and took part in opera and ballet. . . . He was always known as "The Inimitable"'. His popularity was so great that two pickpockets, it is said, returned his watch when they recognized him. Balfe composed "The Life of a Clown" in his honour. The Queen and the Prince Consort more than once invited him to their box.'

In London, Matthews appeared seasons at Drury Lane, Covent Garden, the Olympic, Sadler's Wells, Vauxhall Gardens, Surrey, Adelphi theatres; he toured the provinces, he was seen abroad. Such careers are difficult to follow.

### THE LUPPINO SAGA

The Luppinos might seem to be the oldest ballet-pantomime family in England and everything about them except their name has probably been English for centuries now; and who knows but what that too was more foreignized than foreign at the start? The first of these Luppinos, a dancer and acrobat, turned up at St. Bartholomew's Fair just three hundred years ago, in 1642. His grandson, born in London in 1683, was a dancer, clown, and ballet master. His son, Georgius Richard (1710-87) was in Rich's company under Weaver. A girl of the name came on to the London Opera as a First Dancer from St. Petersburg early in the 19th century, but the chances are she was really just coming home for a season. A Luppino was apprenticed to Tom Mathews. The family is legion. There are Luppinos and Luppinos and Luppinos in English theatrical history—actors and singers, acrobats and pantomimists, but all of them always also dancers and sometimes chiefly or only dancers, especially when young.

Still another George Luppino was actually born in a dressing-room of the Theatre Royal, Birmingham, in 1853, and played his first role there in 1855, an owl who emerged from an egg in a pantomime. He died only in 1932, England's oldest Clown and her grand old man of pantomime. Shortly before his death he appeared for the last time on the stage in that same theatre where he was born, his son and his grandson appearing with him as Harlequins to his Clown. He was certainly the most phenomenal of the dancing Luppinos and one of the most phenomenal of dancers.

Back in 1861, when only 9 years old, this George Luppino 'had a solo dance in Fair Rosamund at the City of London Theatre, executing 32 consecutive pirouettes, finishing up with a double. From this time onwards he specialized in these turns. In 1868 (at 16) he received a gold medal for turning 207 single and double pirouettes upon a pocket handkerchief, the last being a double pirouette.

This remarkable performance has never been equalled, the nearest approach to it being fifty executed by his nephew, Luppino Lane.' (Wilson, *King Panto*) After all, that is a stunt, a matter of strength and technique, somebody will opine. But is there a dancer living to challenge that English record? — granting that the Luppinos of 1642 were English by 1868! We cite it because there may be those who will imagine that these pantomime artists were 'merely mimes' and not dancers.

But enough; English ballet history has known plenty of dancing families, both native and adopted, as already remarked, and the Leclercqs, and others, in Romantic times, too many to mention. With two more remarkable artists, we must close.

### GEORGE WIELAND, THE IMP

In some inexplicable fashion even the Dictionary of National Biography has overlooked George Wieland. The historians of pantomime have something to offer on him, but his place in modern ballet histories up to now has been nil. He needs no introduction to the reader; reviews already quoted have brought him significantly to the fore. None of these remarkable ballet artists of a century ago are to be retrieved with quite the elegance, cameo-like individuality and amazing expertness of Wieland, not even Flexmore. His creations themselves put the choice and exact words right into the heads of his reviewers.

We have first found 'Master Wieland' as Quinco in the Drury Lane Christmas Pantomime of 1823. He was then 13, having been born in 1810, and was, apparently, already a regular member of the troupe of which he was to make one for years to come. In 1825 Drury Lane countered Mazurier in Jocko at Covent Garden with a revival of *La Prouse* and Master Wieland as *Chimpanzee*. The next year he danced *Sage Leaf* in *Oberon* there. By 1829 he had achieved a 'Mr.' and man's estate. But only with 1832 did he move up out of small type and join the featured dancers. Lita Smith has him come to America that year. In any event, he was at Covent Garden in 1834 and returned to Drury Lane with Bunn's troupe the next year.

In 1836, when *The Devil on Two Sticks* was first seen in London, Wieland played *Asmodeus*, created by Barrez in the original Paris Opera production. It was a major casting; but with Duvernay and Mazilier as guests-artists, reviewers had small time to spend on London regulars. The part remained one of Wieland's chief roles. In 1843 he reappeared in it at the Princess's. The *Times* remarked: 'Wieland, who, of course, plays *Asmodeus*, is perfectly exhaustless in invention. The gestures into which he throws himself, with the assistance of his crutches, his extravagant outbreaks of passion, are chefs d'oeuvres of grotesque art. Wieland must think in arabesque.' It is not improbable that he had built the role up in the meantime from what Mazilier had originally given him to do. To our mind, that *Times*' reporter struck off in five words a miniature masterpiece on this artist's whole career: Wieland must think in arabesque.



In the Autumn of 1837 it might appear that a part had been specially devised and inserted into *The Daughter of the Danube* to utilize Wieland's unique gifts. The Paris Opera cast has nothing corresponding to the London "——", Wieland's role in the piece, which the London reviewers euphemistically called 'an Imp' (of the Devil). Gilbert and Wieland between them must have contrived to weave this skilfully into the whole texture of the work, because no one found it either incongruous or in questionable taste. 'Those who would see or study comic humour in a new form,' wrote the Times, 'deprived too of all the common aids to expression, should go to and contemplate Wieland's Imp. In its quiet and repose, it may be compared, though of a different kind, to the best things of Grimaldi in his best days.' Such commendation marked the *ne plus ultra* of London praise a century ago.

One gets a glimpse of the man behind the mask who was Wieland in the pathetic case of Barnes, the great English Clown who is said to have been the first to introduce the English Pantomime to Paris (1825). Ill health had forced him to retire from the stage in 1834. He was soon penniless. Ellar, the Covent Garden Harlequin, helped him out as much and as long as he could. Wieland, at Drury Lane, was in the ascendant in public favor in 1838. Hearing that Barnes was about to be sentenced to the workhouse, he organized a Benefit for him at the English Opera House and provided for his closing years. Unhappily, Barnes died shortly after. He had wished that Ellar, who had helped him so much, should receive what funds were left; but relatives who had had no help for him in need showed up to claim all.

The Spring of 1837 Wieland was among the regular featured dancers at Drury Lane when the Taglionis, four strong, came there. He, Gilbert and Ballin were the principals most used, and he appeared in *La Sylphide* every time it was performed; he knew it and Taglioni in it, backwards. In September, 1838, Wieland put on a piece with which his name has ever since been closely associated, 'A New Broad Burlesque Ballet, "The Mounting Sylph; or, the Flight of Taglioni!"'. In it, he played Taglioni; Sutton, Master Donald; F. Sutton, the Baillie; Lewis, Christie; Miss Sutton, Jessy; and Mme. Simon, Maude. The piece was, of course, a take-off of *La Sylphide* and its ballad-opera half-sister, *The Mountain Sylph*.

When Bunn failed, in 1839, Wieland accompanied the Drury Lane ballet company on its trek to the St. James's, but he did not tarry about at loose ends and return to Drury Lane under its new manager. He severed his long and almost unbroken connection of 17 years or more. He went to the Adelphi, where he and Frampton both produced ballets and danced and mimed in them. 'Satanas or the Spirit of Beauty,' *The Daughter of the Danube*, 'Alma,' etc., were then seen there, with 'diablerie by Wieland'. In 'Punchinello', he was herded in huge type as 'Punch—(the Inimitable)—Mr. Wieland'. In 'The Three Graces' he was 'the

Inimitable' without parentheses. Matthews, Wieland, and Flexmore, were all accorded this accolade. Wieland imitated nobody but himself and the famous danseuses of the period. But by now he had achieved such fame that 'feats a la Wieland' were claimed by many aspirants as a lure to the public.

Blanchard, who had worshipped Grimaldi, seen Ellar and Bologna, and, in fact, all the most famous pantomimists of the first half of the 19th century, considered Wieland to be 'the greatest exponent of the lost art of real pantomime' in his generation. Watching one of Wieland's performances, Edmund Kean was moved to exclaim: 'That boy could convey by gesture alone the significance of every line of Hamlet.'

Wieland died at the height of his power, at 37, in 1847. One has the impression that in him, for all that he kept himself so close to Londontown and that his fame was local, was probably the greatest danseur comique of the whole Romantic Ballet. Nowhere else have we encountered anything his like. His every role, whether he or another had first danced it, was a novel creation. Moreover, one never feels him to have overstepped his medium, his art, in gaining his effects. Whatever he may have been as a Clown, when he put on his make-up and his masks for the ballet, he was always a schooled

Plate XXII. Cat. No. 2

The Auriol-Flexmores





Plate XXIII. Cat. No. 67 'The Last of the Romans'

dancer, but with 'a flexibility of limb and an elasticity of heels that made him apparently a creature of whalebone and rubber.'

#### LITTLE DICKY FLEXMORE

If Wieland was the dancing Imp of the English Ballet, his successor, laughing, tumbling, penny-flute playing, lovable Dicky Flexmore was its dancing madcap and troubador, and again a new creation in the world of pantomime as well. Once again, in that little 1816 volume on *Waltzing*, among the Principal Dancers and Pantomimists at Sadler's Wells, is entered the name of Richard Flexmore. That was *our* Flexmore's father, eight years before Richard was born, in 1824.

(Mr. Wilson reports Flexmore as 34 at his death in 1860, which is to say, born, 1826. Mr. Disher has him born in 1822. The Dictionary of National Biography, which we here follow, is precise and would seem reliable. It enters young Flexmore as born, Kensington, London, 15 Sept., 1824. The family name was Geatter. We do not know from what sources Messrs. Wilson and Disher drew for their rather apocryphal sounding incidents on Dicky's early years. The tales seem to us unfounded rumors).

When the elder Flexmore died, we have not learned. It was when Dicky was very young, and from the time when he was just a toddler, he had to help support his mother. By when he was eight, his theatrical career had already begun. His 'juvenile drollery soon attracted attention. At 11 he was seen in "The Man in the Moon", in which he 'danced very effectively a burlesque shadow dance.' Framp-ton was at one time his teacher. By 1844, at 20, Flexmore had made such a name for himself as a grotesque dancer that he was already in great demand. That year he was Clown in the Olympic Theatre pantomime.

The following Christmas, as earlier remarked, Flexmore arrived at the Princess's. 'Mr. Flexmore, a clown, whose fun and frolics never ceased, and whose evolutions, leaps, falls, dances, and aerial flights kept all alive to the end,' noted the Times, 'executed what he termed an obligato on a penny trumpet . . . in a novel but irresistible style of drollery.' Henry Marshall played Wasp; W. H. Harvey (later First Dancer in the Drury Lane ballet) was Harlequin; Miss Bullen, Columbine.

In April, 1846, Lady Godiva and Peeping Tom of Coventry, a Fairy Extravaganza, had a Coventry Morris Dance and a Grotesque Godiva Extravaganza 'arranged by Mr. Flexmore'. When Gilbert revived *The Spirit of Air*, Flexmore had Wieland's original role, the North Wind. In 1846, Flexmore, then 22, succeeded George Gilbert as ballet master at the Princess's. He remained on for six years, equally active in ballet, extravaganza, and pantomime. That was exactly the kind of versatility that the afterpiece programs of the English stage then needed. However, we shall remark only a couple of the ballets that Flexmore staged there.

In April, 1848, he produced *La Esmeralda*, with Auriol as the heroine. Adele was Fleur de Lys; Zavystowski, Phoebus; Flexmore, Gringoire (Perrot's own role); Leclercq, Quasimodo; Deulin, Frollo; Paulo, Clopin; Norton, Chief of the Truands; T. Hill, Jamb de Bois; Miss Cuthbert, Mme. Gondelaurier; Mlles. Louise, Mathilde, and the two Lerclercq girls, friends of Fleur de Lys. The corps de ballet counted 40 women and 30 men. That was a strong native company and a large one. The production was a complete success.

Francisca Christophosa Auriol had made her London debut as a Second Dancer at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, its first season, 1847. She was a daughter of the famous French Clown, Jean Baptiste Auriol. Shortly after leaving the Opera scene, Auriol joined the Princess's troupe as First Dancer. On July 28th, 1849, Auriol and Flexmore were married at St. Mary's parish church, Lambeth. She remained on as First Dancer at the Princess's until 1852. Between whiles, however, the Flexmores also found time to tour the Continent, sometimes with the travelling company of Auriol pere, and there are droll stories current about Flexmore's antics on these 'holidays'. 'They acted with great success in the chief cities of the Continent,' says our helpful Dictionary.



In 1849 Flexmore presented *Les Patineurs*, to Meyerbeer's music. In it he danced *A Slippery Pas* that was a humorous gem. *Dancing Mad* was another offering this same year. In 1850, *The Caliph's Choice*, with Auriol, Carlotta Leclercq, and the Cushnies featured, was offered. These works and others all enjoyed success.

In 1852 the Flexmores moved on to the Adelphi for several years. Later they were seen at the Strand, Covent Garden, and other theatres.

The dancer dominated everything that Flexmore undertook. Yet, for all his ballet activities, it was as Clown that Flexmore was most famous on the English stage. But did ever any artist treat Clown with greater freedom and even levity? He was not just a Clown who danced, for that was no novelty at all then. Rather, he was a dancer who clowned, a premier danseur who had for the nonst donned the motley. Flexmore 'is always spoken of as being in a class by himself.'

'It was Flexmore,' Mr. Wilson thinks, 'who created the conventional garb of Clown as it is known today,'—and all because he wanted to dance. The traditional Grimaldi costume, a broad burlesque of social dress of a bye-gone era, with huge baggy trousers with enormous pockets bulging with a wide assortment of pilferings, was not for Dicky Flexmore. He, 'being a dancer and wishing to keep his legs free, encased them in tights and short, frilled trunks embroidered with red and blue braid.' It is the old story of ballet taste and ballet needs again 'revolutionizing' long established pantomimic conventions.

Like Wieland, who flourished in the late 1830's and the early 1840's, Flexmore, who emerged to fame just as Wieland was about to be removed by early death, and flourished throughout the 1850's, was 'especially noted for his close and natural imitation of leading dancers of the day, such as Perrot, Carlotta Grisi, Cerrito, and others.' (Dictionary) In more ways than one the mantle of Wieland fell upon his shoulders. Unlike Tom Matthews, who had simply donned a dress, Flexmore would seem to have doffed his Clown's make-up (the powdered and painted face, etc.) for these specialty numbers, though he retained his tights, the only touch of absurdity, to judge from prints of the time. His was a close approximation to the appearance of the dancers imitated as well as to their dances, a satire, perhaps, more than burlesque—except for those telltale tights with their great clocks! However, Flexmore 'could when required also take the part of Clown a la Grimaldi in a very efficient manner.'

The early deaths of both Flexmore and Wieland are to be attributed directly to their over-exertions in their art, that sapped their strength and destroyed their bodies. To follow their careers is to encounter a series of announcements that one or the other was temporarily out of a bill because of injuries sustained in line of duty. They were forever coming croppers—a bad fall here, some broken ribs there, teeth knocked out, sprained joints, etc., etc. It was the price they paid for the arduous and

dangerous antics that they were forever up to.

Flexmore contracted consumption and collapsed when about to launch the 1859 Christmas Pantomime at Drury Lane. Harry Payne climbed out of his Harlequin costume and into Flexmore's outfit. Flexmore was then just turned 35. A contagiously vivacious and endlessly diverting young Clown and grotesque dancing genius and a finely schooled dancer of a Harlequin were both lost forever that night. Flexmore never returned to the boards. Harry Payne was transformed for good and all from a graceful, debonair Harlequin to a sly, malicious, but capering Clown.

Flexmore died at Lambeth, London, 20th Aug., 1860, and was buried in Kensal Green. So extraordinary were his pantomimic and dancing talents that a writer of the time dubbed him 'the last of the Romans', the last of the gifted representatives of Bathyllus and Pylades on the English stage.

Auriol, his wife, had been appearing regularly on the English boards for more than a dozen years. She did not long survive her husband; she died 26 Dec., 1862. Flexmore's aged mother, whom he had supported ever since he was a child, Ann Flexmore Geatter, did not die until 1869, aged 88 years.

Messrs. Disher and Wilson, from whose works we have quoted as convenient above, were preoccupied with tracing the history of pantomime in London. Inevitably, ballet poured over onto their pages; it had to be taken by them in their stride, because it would not out.

Our present study is narrowly preoccupied with the grand ballet and not at all with ballet in English Pantomime. Nevertheless it is impossible to do justice to the subject without remarking that seasonally a number of fine ballet artists passed over into the Christmas Pantomime that was forever chasing ballet—even the most successful of ballets—off the London boards, from 26 Dec. on, for a month—or two—or even three—depending upon what success attended the Christmas offering. At that time each year a number of 'classic' dancers, as the Gilberts, the O'Bryans, Proche-Giubilei, dropped out of the bills. But a number of other dancers, often no less prominent in their own way in ballet, went right on, as integral a part of the dumbshow as of the ballet. Some of them even left their indelible imprint as dancers upon the history of that kindred yet so different art, as James Byrne, George Wieland, Richard Flexmore, Celeste, and Harry Payne.

The reader will know how to take these several thumbsketches, lifted from old, faded daguerreotypes, with many details now missing, and set them where they belong in the earlier section of our survey of the Romantic Ballet on the English stage.

\* \* \*

With Dicky Flexmore who perished in his youth just as the 1850's were expiring, we conclude Part II of our exploratory essay. We have submitted it under the caption of the English Ballet in London. To our mind, that is what the sum total of evidences that have come our way and that we have en-

deavored to assemble in some order here, adds up to. We do not wish to appear dogmatic in the matter. We do no more than proffer this section, with its 'pieces justificatives' as so many evidences of a proposition.

The proposition is that the specific gravity of the Romantic Ballet on the English Stage in London was its native element. That native element, bottom to top, was in no wise peculiar just to that period, to those four decades. It goes back in a clearcut and unbroken line a full century, to John Weaver and his troupe. It comes on, to enjoy a new flowering once again on the English stage, crossed by Russian genius, in London and the English-speaking world over. Its life has always been passed outside the Opera. This is abnormal in ballet history regarded as a whole; it is peculiar to our culture. Elsewhere, all stages have fraternized, the Opera ballet representing the ideal directive. But in London and throughout the extent of its theatrical sphere of influence, the Opera and all other stages have pursued a dual course always and everywhere. Ballet

on the English stage belongs to another tradition not merely in degree and environment, as in other cultures, but in essence—its Opera ballet began and remained a foreign importation, was extranational; this ballet is native, though never exclusively so, always international, as the best interests of the art everywhere have always asked. But just because it belongs to another tradition affects it not at all as ballet—it is no less ballet and even more indigenous because of that. The proposition is that the term English Ballet was not then, a century ago, any more than two centuries ago or than today, 'a mere figure of speech'. Even though its distinct identity may have eluded later historians, it was a self-evident reality to its own generation and it deserves to be restored as such in history.

However, the substantial worth of this section is in no way dependent upon an affirmative answer to that proposition. The substantial worth of this section lies in its complete novelty, in its positive contribution to the factual record of a considerable body of data not heretofore published.





### PART III — ICONOGRAPHY

It was inevitable that, with the return (revival, if you insist) of grand ballet as an independent living theatre art in the English-speaking world, there should have come a revival of interest in art on ballet and in that subject per se, the iconography of ballet. This always means a rampage into the realm of ballet prints.

Ballet remains today essentially what it has been this century or more past, i.e., Romantic. Accordingly, interest is bound to center first in prints of the Romantic Decades. That means primarily Romantic prints par excellence, the art-lithograph.

Just where the line is to be drawn between the lithograph that is an art-print and one that is 'merely commercial hackwork', extremes apart, is a mystery to us—especially when a subject print is the issue. Personally, all is grist for our mill, if the work be simply ballet—and, for our present purpose, an easel or a music-title print of English make somewhere between 1820 and 1860.

As early lithographs and the ballet are both in vogue at the moment, the field happens to be of interest to many. To tell the truth, it was our endeavor intelligently to chart the English gallery of souvenir lithographs of the Romantic Ballet in London that betrayed us into all that has gone before! There is no saying where a study of ballet prints may not land one! What is the status of this particular subject today?

A few years ago an English enthusiast exclaimed: 'It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that the lithographs of the Romantic Ballet . . . have only drawn attention to their corporate existence within the last three or four years.' To our mind, any such general idea is a great exaggeration.

The collection of ballet prints patiently assembled by Mme. Jeanne Chasles (former premiere danseuse at the Paris Opera, d. 1939) was already famous more than a generation ago. In 1908, Paris staged a vast Exposition Theatrale in the Pavillon de Marsan in the Louvre (where, in 1939, the great Diaghileff Exhibition was held). The official catalogue lists dozens and dozens of these lithographs, including a whole room set apart for a selection from Mme. Chasle's collection, headed, 'Iconographie de la Danse', where alone were exposed around 75 such works. Whoever saw that array could not possibly have escaped noting what 'corporate existence' these prints may be said to have, one real but entirely factitious. One might cite such French instances indefinitely.

Long before 1900, Mr. Frederick King, of New York, now deceased, had gathered a notable collection of these works. So had other Americans, even earlier, as Messrs. Shaw and Wendell, whose prodigious labors resulted in the Harvard College Theatre Collection, with its bulging portfolios on ballet. On the Continent many famous old collections could be named.

Indeed, the subject itself has fascinated amateurs for centuries. We have a regal set of original quarto

program-librettos of the Paris Opera productions, collected and eventually bound into volumes in the second quarter of the 18th century. The collector extra-illustrated these brochures with ballet prints whose original provenance we have, in some cases, been unable to trace. As theatre souvenirs go, it is a remarkably early instance of that practice.

We mention such items, because it is unwise to isolate the Romantic lithographs from the steadily flowing stream of ballet prints in any such fashion as to give the impression of a phenomenon. They deserve study on their own, but as a natural part of a consistent whole. Indeed, our present pursuit is not without its titles to respect among the gentle arts theatrical. Catalogues of ballet souvenirs began to be issued as long ago as 1735. We have no desire to perpetuate the memory of some fickle fad. The iconography of the ballet is a perdurable interest handed on from generation to generation.

It is as impossible for a ballet enthusiast not to go in for the iconography of dance as for an opera connoisseur not to go in for music scores. The latter thinks instinctively in terms of notation; the former, of picturization. For through what else does ballet address itself to the mind, senses, and aesthetic faculties except the eyes? Of all the major arts theatrical it is the most—the only utterly—pictorial medium. It is a pattern in rhythm, a kinetic design, composed by a moving body against or upon a fixed ground. Pictures are its one inevitable and perfect medium of record. Edison was the eventual inventor of the ultimate choreographic register.

For pre-20th century records, stenochoreographic scripts (most unsatisfactory) and the staccato of single 'shots' that galvanized an 'action' at its most characteristic instant, remain the next best resorts. Fragmentary though these latter are, they constitute the one and perhaps the only advantage that dance has had in times past over its sister arts, acting and singing. What musician would not give all the pictures of Malibran or of Jenny Lind that exist, for a pure record of a single aria or even of a brief cadenza matchlessly sung by them? The singers and the actors of the past are gone beyond reclaim, because their voices, the peculiar organ of their genius, are stilled. The artists of dance live on, fugitively yet eternally themselves, in pictures.

In the source materials on ballet, therefore, nothing takes precedence of the pictorial documentation. That records the thing seen, and the thing seen was the thing in itself at that given time.

No writer has done so much to make his public conscious of the importance and of the wealth of the iconography of the ballet, as Mr. Cyril W. Beaumont, of London, these several decades past. To the subject itself he has devoted a half dozen pioneer essays, including three substantial volumes. Twice he has addressed himself directly to these lithographs.

In 1931 Mr. Beaumont published a brief article on 'Some Prints of the Romantic Ballet', in the



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Print Collector's Quarterly. Then, in 1938, he issued a superb Catalogue of 119 entries with 81 excellent illustrations in 'The Romantic Ballet in Lithographs of the Time' (Faber & Faber, London). It is a balletophile's selection, out of a wealth of prints known, of what were to his mind the choice exhibits of many lands. The work is a 'must' on its subject.

In that volume, Mr. Beaumont contented himself with his formal Catalogue and a brief essay on the more prominent dancers it recorded. To his collaborator, Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, fell the task of introducing the prints proper and lithography itself, as an art in the service of ballet. To our mind, Mr. Sitwell acquitted himself none too well. It is not impertinent to our present concern to remark what seem to us some of his misreadings.

Mr. Sitwell there laid down a general definition of the ballet print. 'The ballet print proper,' he said, 'is a large full-length coloured lithograph, depicting a dancer in some action or movement of the dance.'

The 'proper', as the context reveals, is meant to distinguish easel or wall prints from music-title illustrations. The two are, of course, to be distinguished—as *prints*.

But what have size, color, and medium, to do with the matter? Large as a poster or small as a postage stamp, what difference does it make? Likewise, linecut, woodcut, etching, mezzotint, stipple, aquatint, or lithograph, one or all, is equally a matter of indifference, as is black or color treatment. Indeed, Mr. Beaumont's Catalogue enters works that range from circa 17 x 20 ins. to as small as 4¾ x 6¼ ins.,

as well as a mezzotint, an aquatint, and at least two line and stipple engravings. A full-length study of a dancer is happier, of course, though ¾- and even ½-length 'action' studies exist.

Well, then, 'depicting a dancer in some action or movement of the dance.' But not at all. That is a dance print, yes, and all ballet prints are dance prints, but all dance prints are not ballet prints. And since when is a subject to be defined implicit in the definition proper? What is 'a large full-length coloured lithograph depicting a dancer in some action or movement of the dance?' Merely, a particular type of dance print that may or may not be a ballet print. There are a thousand such by no stretch of the imagination ballet prints and a thousand ballet prints do not fit that bill. Nobody should or doubtless does know this better than Mr. Sitwell. But it is unfortunate that he should have lodged any such improper ideas in the minds of his unwary and credulous readers.

A ballet print is a *subject* print. If the subject is not in some direct sense ballet, then neither is the print. It makes no difference at all whether the subject is in action or not, is dancing or not, or is even in character. If, when the subject of the work is known, it belongs in some definite sense to ballet, then it is a ballet print—in the widest reading of the term. In the ideal sense, a study of a dancer or dancers formally in action on the stage is a ballet print par excellence. But between the general and the ideal types of these works lie many intermediate studies.

However, if you wait to recognize dance itself or 'ballet' itself in a picture proper, if you do not forever have an eye to the subject, the TITLE or (sometimes) the identification of a study, you will undoubtedly miss a goodly number of choice items, as, for instance, of Rosati in Coralia, absent-mindedly floating down a stream, or of Fleury in the Beauty of Ghent, by Chalon-Lane, looking like nothing in the world but a slightly startled actress or concert singer.

In the second place, Mr. Sitwell's presentation is sometimes more confusing than clarifying, even when he comes to a decision as to whom praise, precedence, and proper recognition is due in these prints.

'It is only natural that as this subject is studied, it should become more and more complicated in its history and in its attributions. There is the initial difficulty as to whom praise is due, whether it is to the artist or to the lithographer. If it be the lithographer, then a set of names even more obscure than those of the actual artists will have to be rescued from oblivion. The printing of the plates, in any case, will have been the work of a master lithographer and his firm of assistants, so that praise, even were there personal knowledge, would be difficult to apportion. But the situation becomes more difficult in the case of one particular artist, J. Brandard, who, not content with his own lithographs, perhaps the best of all, in many cases printed or lithographed, as well, the drawings of other artists. So it seems to be the only solution to speak of the



lithographs as being due to the artist who is named as having made the original drawings. The subsequent drawing upon the stone, and the actual printing, both processes being frequently mentioned under the names of the persons concerned, must yield place of priority to the original artist in each case.

One would have to know the long and officially declassified history of lithography and lithographers in London to sense how, consciously or instinctively, Mr. Sitwell there speaks not like the sensitive critic with a passion for discredited causes and disdained gems of the minor arts that he is but with the superciliousness of a Royal Academician.

More confusion lurks in the paragraph quoted than we can possibly handle here. One of its unhappy consequences was that the author's two essays never once so much as named the name of the greatest of all English portrait-lithographers, internationally famous, the founder (in the eyes of all competent authorities) of the first and finest English School of portrait-lithography, and the creative translator onto stone of many of the finest souvenirs in the whole English gallery of theatre prints, including ballet prints.

Mr. Sitwell makes no attempt to distinguish between the artist-lithographer (original or other) and the art-printer, i.e. between the man who made the drawing upon stone and the man or firm who printed that drawing. On occasion, both roles were played by the same artist. But most prints clearly distinguish between these two active agents.

Certainly, in *editing* a print one follows, or should follow, the titling on the print itself. That runs, courteously: (1) subject, (2) original artist, (3) artist-lithographer, (4) publisher, (5) printer. But as a *print* its interest to a collector runs: (1) subject, (2) artist-lithographer (plus original artist), (3) printer (plus publisher). That is to say, the work before one is a print from a drawing on stone *after* a study by whatever artist. The original artist of any study done into a print stands at one remove, even when both are by the same hand. The publisher is of the last and least consideration. The print actually before one is entirely due to whoever drew what was on the stone and to who printed it. All else is secondary. As Mr. Beaumont puts it, it is 'A Lithograph by . . . after a drawing by. . .'

It can never be said from a *print* after some picture just what art qualities the original study itself may or may not have had or even what was the general treatment of the picture or its medium—oil, watercolor, or what? (Mr. Harry Peters has excellently illustrated this in his volumes on American lithographs, reproducing both the original sketch and the eventual print.)

A master artist-lithographer can make a fine art-print out of a most mediocre original design; a poor artist-lithographer can only create a poor art-lithograph, even though he be translating a Da Vinci masterpiece onto stone; just as Caruso could make a trite song an unforgettable beauty heard, so long as he voiced it, while a barbershop tenor could only murder Celeste Aida and the ears of his listeners.

The artist-lithographer's role is dual, even triple. He may execute an original work, directly on the stone. To artists, these are the most desirable of all lithographs. He may himself execute a study and then himself transfer it to the stone. These are the next most desirable of lithographs to artists. Both stand as original works and it is mostly impossible to say when a work is of one or of the other nature. Such are, of course, the studies that Mr. Sitwell had immediately in mind.

Finally, the artist-lithographer may translate to the stone the work of another artist. These last works have the force and quality, the direct art value, when excellent, of, say, Pope's *Illiad* or Fitzgerald's *Rubaiyat*. They are translations of works in one language into another language, but with a common medium and the same spirit obtaining throughout. In that sense, i.e. of their kind and after their fashion they are immediate works of art. If the drawing on stone be done by a master of the grammar of lithography, as were Pope and Fitzgerald of English and also fluent in the language from which they were translating, masterful translations result. The English art-world has habitually and obdurately refused these prints and their makers their full due. Among such works are many of the loveliest of ballet prints. In prints, it is the *print* and *its* makers that dominate.

The next most important consideration after the artist(s) of a study proper is the art-printer (or art-print firm) that actually printed the work. He may turn out excellent impressions of works excellently drawn on stone; excellent impressions of poor drawings on stone; poor impressions of excellent drawings on stone. The printer determines the quality of the print job, the 'impression' of a work before one. He is second in importance only to the original artist(s) of a work.

Last among these attributions comes the 'publisher'. He is merely the editor or agent of prints, a print dealer, whether in gross or in detail. Some prints name only one publisher; many name two; not a few, three to five 'publishers', in as many different cities, in as many different countries. But you will never find more than *one* printer. His entry alone can determine the nationality of any print insofar as prints may be said to have nationality, and even then only when it fixes not just who printed it but *WHERE* it was printed—in London? Then it is an English print, every other consideration is secondary. A double blemish in Mr. Beaumont's Catalogue is that it habitually ignores the printer and chooses arbitrarily which publisher it will cite.

Finally, it may be remarked, the names of the artist-lithographers (even of the art-printers) are often less obscure, less difficult to rescue from oblivion than some of the original artists of print studies. Moreover, why should an editor of old prints balk because the artist-lithographers were names sometimes obscure to him? To unravel these is a prosaic detail of a task assumed. Why publish a volume on old prints of Raphael's paintings and then pay attention only to Raphael and his paintings, avowing indifference or confusion in your mind as to who

did the actual works edited? Why not go directly to Raphael and his paintings in the first place? It would be a real and effective help were Mr. Sitwell to give us a volume devoted to what originals of these old ballet print studies he can turn up—the Chalons, the Buckner in Birmingham, etc.—with good reproductions, to compare with what the artist-lithographer put on stone. Such a volume cries out to be done. Who is better equipped to do it than Mr. Sitwell?

Thirdly, Mr. Sitwell can only lead his readers astray on an even more vital consideration. He impoverishes his subject and discourages researchers, by repeating time and again that Mr. Beaumont's Catalogue sweeps the field clean. 'Working upon the information there given, it should be possible to identify any print found,'—why, you ask?—'for this volume contains, quite literally, almost every single print that is worth reproduction. One or two lithographs of character dances, but scarcely more than that, have been omitted, while even these will be found described in full in the lists. . . .' He slams the door shut at the very start. 'The collecting of a complete series of these lithographs is no more than a theoretical possibility,' but with Mr. Beaumont's *select* checklist, the gallery is exhaustively exhibited.

This source-material is elusive. Mr. Beaumont's Catalogue is almost unique. Mr. Sitwell's name carries great prestige. For the good estate of the iconography of the Romantic Ballet it needs be said that all such claims are brummagem sales-talk—or a measure of a writer's limited acquaintance with his subject and its exasperating farther reaches.

Mr. Sitwell doubtless had in mind, when he wrote thus expansively, only the English gallery of these souvenirs. For Mr. Beaumont's Catalogue enters 90 and illustrates 66 English prints—a proportion of three English works to one for all other countries combined. With the starveling representation accorded France, Italy, Germany, etc., we have nothing here to say, beyond being grateful for what got in. It is not apparent that Mr. Beaumont was concerned to give more than a taste of the Continental works, while Mr. Sitwell just could not be bothered with such a picayune exhibit. To these galleries we shall devote our next Catalogues *seriatim*.

We would here assure readers that the 'good material' (i.e., as good as material there admitted) in the English gallery holds many items not found in Mr. Beaumont's *select* Catalogue—plus a great many other items, not so elegant as prints, but every one of them precious documents on the history of the Romantic Ballet in London. Indeed, in the omnivorous checklist here submitted, those 90 prints have grown to over 200, and we have been at pains to indicate by indubitable proofs how incomplete is our present survey. In our new material are many prints excellent on every count.

The study of this English field of ballet prints is not finished. It is only begun—magnificently begun by Mr. Beaumont; carried forward by a considerable stride here, in our report on work in progress.

London activity in ballet prints has been jumpy across the centuries. Are there any English ballet prints of dancers 'in action' earlier than the second quarter of the 18th century? Around the middle of the century a number of works were issued, a Hogarth caricature, *The Charmers of the Age*, of *la Barbarina* and M. Desnoyers, three or four of Mlle. Auretti, and some studies of Nancy Dawson, who, to our mind, belongs.

After a lull, a new era began with 1781, when for nearly a quarter century a considerable number of works continued to appear. Here are the best prints of the *Vestris*, *pere et fils*, that exist, and delicious works of Mlles. Hilligsberg, Baccelli, Parisot, Simonet, Mme. Didelot, MM. D'Egville & Deshayes, etc. These range from large, handsome mezzotints and aquatints to medium sized stipples and small linecuts.

1805-20 apathy once again ensued, though a small aquatint of Armand Vestris with Mlle. Angiolini, small linecuts or etchings of Ann Adams, Mrs. Parker, etc., are present to revivify the scene—trifles all, compared with what had just preceded them and what was to follow.

With 1821, a third era, including the earliest English lithographs of the ballet, began, to continue into the 1850's. But it is indicative of the slow headway made by the new invention in printing, that the English ballet prints of the 1820's were rarely lithographs. In France one may come upon a half-hundred examples for that decade; in England, we have noted around a half dozen. From 1831 on, matters definitely improved. But it was not until the new reign, 1837, Victoria Regina, that these works began literally to pour from the London presses—for a full decade. With 1847 that ceased—not as a shower, gradually, but as of a tap suddenly turned off, a faulty tap, that continued to leak, but no more, after it was turned off.

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Lithography was introduced to London very early (1800), by no less a person than its inventor, Aloys Senefelder. The art never got a fair initial showing or an unprejudiced start in London. It was adjudged a cheap print medium, ergo, no 'art' medium. English print-fanciers frowned on the upstart. English artists of standing mostly took their cues from their fashionable patrons. Neither would soil their hands with the greasy affair. That was the first opinion of the Royal Academicians, their coterie and their clientele. That was their sustained opinion. That was their final opinion. Ruskin, Arbiter of Taste in the 1850's put it brusquely: 'Let no lithographic work come into the house if you can help it. . . .' It was all right for commercial purposes or even for export, but for art-prints for people of taste—thumbs down.

It is amazing, how, with such a combine of wealth, fashion, and art officialdom against it, lithography prospered at all in London. Yet prosper it did, and excellently. Indeed, England ranks second only to France in the number and elegance of its contributions, a far second, but second.

We omit to treat the history of the art itself in London. The reader is referred to the English



chapters in the Pennells' classic, 'Lithography and Lithographers' (London, 1898). It should, however, surprise no one, given the first English reaction to the art, to find S. Williams pointing out (Soc. of Arts annual, vol. 56) that the London lithographers who first forwarded the invention as a practical and regular art-print medium, were all foreigners. As late as 1831 an English enthusiast lamented the indifference of native artists to lithography, and remarked, 'the French lithographs are pretty well known, and form the most graceful trifles of our print shops,' and he had London works in mind. Foreigners continued active in London throughout our period. But what is to be gained by noting the birth and citizenship of artists involved in these prints?

Even less should anyone presume to draw any conclusions from such purely fortuitous concerns as who agented these prints in one and another capital. Mr. Sitwell goes out of his way to remark how prints then 'published' in London were 'welcomed in France. The address at which they can be purchased in Paris often appears upon the margin of the print. . . .' Actually, he is merely talking about *two* publishers, one in London, one in Paris. Had he ever been interested to examine the margins of French prints he would just as frequently have found a London printdealer (publisher) named on them.

Nevertheless, in a certain type and character of 'action' studies, London then really did take precedence of Paris and thereby of all other cities. It did not issue as many different ballet prints as Paris or even as many different lithographic ones, during these decades. But it did publish more arresting and ambitious works, more so-to-say extra-sized studies of the internationally famous dancers of the era. There is nothing anywhere to equal the London gallery of such prints of Taglioni, Elssler, Grisi, Cerrito, and others 'in action'. Indeed, one type of London print (Bouvieresque studies) even set a fashion, as the numerous French, German, and American versions of such prints attest.

However, it is one thing to make a selection of the choice prints of one land and then to go looking for the same type of prints elsewhere, only to find them fewer and sometimes reflective. It is quite another thing to take all the prints of each land or of each great capital en bloc, and then compare them. If the former tends to inflate one's ego, the latter quickly proves a counterbalance. London is as poorly represented in certain signal types of French souvenir prints as is Paris in the most characteristic of English prints, as we shall be at pains to note when we survey the French gallery.

The English 'School' of these ballet prints is the gallery of all such works printed in England,—say, in London. Actually, however, in that gallery two 'Schools' are to be clearly distinguished.

#### THE LANE SCHOOL

'English artists never, at any time, shared the enthusiasm of French artists (for lithography), and it was so long before they realized what could be got out of the stone and Senefelder's bit of greasy



Plate XXVI. Cat. No. 183-4 'The Pet of the Ballet'

chalk, that we count as the first perfectly successful lithographs published in England Lane's *Portfolio of Illustrations of John Philip Kemble in the Various Parts he has Sustained*, issued, through Dickinson, as late as October, 1826. There are eight of these drawings, quite small, and finished in the beautiful fashion that Lane really invented in English lithography. Every legitimate advantage is taken of the lithographic quality, and for the first time delicacy of handling is combined with great strength of colour. It is a notable volume, though virtually unknown.' (The Pennells)

Richard James Lane (1800-72), painter, sculptor, engraver, and lithographer, was then just 26 years old. He was a grand-nephew of Gainsborough, many of whose paintings he lithographed. In 1827 he was elected an A.R.A. In 1837 he was named Lithographer to the Queen and head of the School of Engraving at the South Kensington Museum. His enduring fame rests on his portrait-lithographs. In the present Catalogue he is represented by no less than 17 prints. His theatre portraits as a whole are a gallery in themselves. In the Harvard College Theatre Collection are found over a hundred different prints by him, 48 after his own original designs or drawn directly on the stone from life, including the rare portfolio above mentioned.

The Pennells, whose taste was impeccable, whose own mastery of the art is well known, and whose acquaintance with artist-lithographers and their works was practically universal, had an unbounded respect for Lane. To their mind, he was not dwarfed by the greatest names anywhere. Bonington, whose architectural studies are famous, is to France the greatest name in English lithography—and why not, most of his work was executed in France for Baron Taylor's monumental publication? 'Bonington,' say the Pennells, 'developed a style that for brilliancy and refinement places him at the head of English lithographers, or, at any rate, in landscape ranks him with Lane in portraiture.'

'In serious portraiture England possessed two men, Lane and Vinter, of genuine distinction, while, at times, Bagniet, J. H. Lynch, and W. Dumond (Drummond?), rank with Achille Deveria at his best. Much of their work was reproductive. . . . These (studies) are worked out with great elaboration. Suggestion and sketchiness would not have been understood by the people they drew. But the elaboration is often very beautiful, without being pretty, and is always most accomplished and workmanlike, for the knowledge both artists possessed of lithography and all its methods was complete.'

Lane's name enjoys another and a curious distinction among English masters of the art. 'Of all the distinguished lithographers in the country, but one, R. J. Lane,' was ever made a member of the Royal Academy 'and he was a humble Associate, and was elected less because of his lithographs, upon which his fame rests, than because of his drawings and engravings, which are now forgotten.' But you really should read the Pennells' passage from which that comes—their account of the predicament into which the French invitation to England to participate in the Paris Centenary Exhibition of Lithography (1895) put that august body, and of how cleverly the collapse of the project was circumvented. Officially, it would seem, the Royal Academy had never in a hundred years admitted that lithography was an art. It even tripped itself into declaring such prints not art but merely 'a process'. It is astonishing how, with France just next door, England, in the latter half of the 19th century, actually went to seed in the two supremely French arts that monopolize interest in this monograph.

The aristocrats of the Lane School are to be found in the famous *Souvenir d'Adieu* of 1845. As undoubtedly Chalon's favorite lithographer, Lane was probably asked to do the *Souvenir* and the *Pas de Quatre*. Either he had not the time to execute so many large drawings within so short a time as the exigencies of the print trade demanded or he preferred to share honors. He did the first and last drawings of the *Souvenir*, likely supervized the work, and selected its artists from among his most talented pupils, grown to man's estate under his guidance—Templeton, Maguire, Morton, and J. H. Lynch—to do one study each. To Maguire fell the signal honor of the *Pas de Quatre*. But put all these works in a row, and nobody who did not know

them to be done by five different artists could believe that they were not all from the same hand, so perfect are both the spirit and the technical handling that suffice them all.

It is to be noted that of the 69 English easel-prints catalogued by Mr. Beaumont, at least 22 were drawn on stone by these five men (in the present Catalogue, at least 35 entries). A number of other works by other artists, as Gauci, Madeley, Dickinson, etc., are after the same manner. It goes without saying that there were other less distinguished artist-lithographers of the same school. Still others, as Brandard, worked in the same style when it suited their ends, sometimes to good effect, but more often only with a veneer of the qualities attaching to the prints of those five. Yet those five could adapt themselves at need to the other type of work, but always with a delicacy of touch and brilliancy of contrast all their own.

It is further to be noted that the works by these five men rank among the finest of all ballet souvenirs in the English gallery—as the *Six Sketches* of 1831, the *Taglioni Flore* and *Bayadere* by Chalon-Lane, the 'Wagstaff' portfolio, the *Souvenir d'Adieu*, and the *Pas de Quatre*. These, like their makers, are aristocrats all in English lithography. Indeed, the 1831 *Flore* (No. 109 below) was one of the most admired and perennially popular of all these prints (and still is). Versions by good artists continued to be issued for 30 years.

We give this group precedence, because it came first in time and because it is the greatest English School of Portrait Lithography and of these ballet prints. Its consummate distinction is that its prints are lithographs and nothing else. They recall no other art-print medium whatsoever. Here everything is subjected to a rigorous analysis and rationalization of what is lithography in its own rights and how is it best to be employed in theatrical portraiture. The school is an international one, but not because it apes anything else; simply because it is lithographic portraiture at its lithographic best. In being that, it is at one with the best schools everywhere. For the rest, it is English, it is of Lane. Nowhere else will you encounter such smooth soft delicacy with such a sure hand and such strength of color and of contrast.

Here you have most of those English ballet prints that were done on soft, pearly India paper, so congenial to the ink, blending so exquisitely with the greys and blacks of the ink, yet at the same time heightening their color quality. Colors added to these works—certainly, anything more than the palest of tints sparingly applied, as in the 'Wagstaff'-Morton series—are an insult. They are at their best just as they left the press. No lithograph on India paper was ever intended to be colored over all or was ever (to our knowledge) printed with a tinted ground. The paper itself was the incomparably tinted ground. At most, a delicate touch of color here and there was all that the artist ever intended and even that but rarely.



Further, every non-essential was usually eliminated from these works. The greatest simplicity and economy prevails. Few contain background designs and then mostly only sketchy ones; the stone was never heavily worked all over. All interest is concentrated solely on the dancer. Their obvious aim is distinct facial portraiture. They are summed up in the one word, portrait. Even the 'action', always carefully selected, is made contributory to the documentary portrait. As such, these studies are in the great English tradition of portraiture. Few other 'action' studies known to us compare with them in this regard.

#### THE BOUVIER (BRANDARD) SCHOOL

The other English School of these ballet prints we should call the Bouvier School or, if music-title illustrations are also to be included—and why not?—the Bouvier-Brandard School. While the prolific John Brandard did some easel prints, his enduring fame rests on the number, variety, and elegance of his music-title illustrations. By comparison, he did but few easel-prints, unless the same stones put to both uses be counted in.

Mr. Sitwell noted the Beaumont Catalogue as offering 19 Brandards and 18 Bouviers. We find it to contain 24 easel prints by Bouvier and 8 by Brandard, plus 18 music prints assigned the latter. This is, of course, only a fraction of the works of these artists, but the Bouvier easel prints, in subject and quality as well as in number, far outrank the Brandards and tip the scale in the former's favor.

'J. Bouvier' completely eluded Mr. Sitwell. 'But his prints were published,' (printed) 'in London; and we have to presume that he was English.' That would seem a non sequitur. That Bouvier's prints are English, there is no least doubt; that he himself was is still very doubtful.

The ballet prints offer slender clues to go by; they render up a J. Bouvier and a Jules Bouvier (1846); all known to us date from 1839 to 1847. Benezit's *Dictionnaire des Peintres*, etc., lists no fewer than 19 Bouviers, all artists and all of the 19th century, but scattered over France, England, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium. The family was, however, predominantly French; many of its scattered members put in appearances in Paris to study or exhibit. One branch seems definitely to have settled in London, in the late '30's, and to be still there.

Of this last, only two names fit our given conditions: Joseph and Jules. Joseph was a portrait painter who, from 1839 to 1888, exhibited a great number of works at the Royal Academy, the British Institution, and Suffolk Street. In a London sale, 1908, a painting by him, *Une Danseuse*, brought 4 Guineas. His dates fit the ballet prints perfectly. Benezit leaves his 'School' a blank, unable to say whether he was French or English by birth (on which alone he determines school; he even puts Chalon down as Swiss School.) Jules was a genre painter who exhibited from 1845 to 1865, at the British Institution and at Suffolk Street. Benezit gives Jules a 'French School?' This at least gets beyond that irritating 'J. Bouvier'. With all the records that must still survive in London, from the



Plate XXVII. Cat. No. 62

'Commander of the Female Army'

above data and the rest of Benezit's entries, it ought to be possible to clear up these Bouviers; living members of the family itself should still be traceable in London. Joseph and Jules were probably French born and English by adoption.

The earliest Brandard print checked by us dates 1838 (*Celeste*); but a music-title illustration of Duvernay as *Florinda* may possibly be earlier by a few months. He was then around 26 years old. Perhaps he had just recently come up to London from Birmingham, where he was born in 1812. The two Bouviers may well have been younger than Brandard, who died in 1863. Brandard was the *Hanharts-Fores'man*; Bouvier, *McLean's*.

The Bouvier School is in striking contrast to the Lane School. In the mere matter of technical treatment of its medium and manner of drawing and composition, it has no affinities with the Lane works but many with various French and German ballet prints of the same date. Where it differs from both is rather in the special nature of the best, the richest and most costly examples of its works, i.e., in what, it would seem, was ultimately in the artist's mind, what he worked towards.

We have never seen a Bouvier printed on India paper. One or two exceptions that might be turned up would not disprove this general rule. (In lithog-

raphy there is no rule without its exceptions.) These prints were regularly, it would seem, sold over the counter in three states of graduated cost: in black and white; in black and white on a tinted ground; and, finally, the latter handsomely hand-colored over all.

In black and white, these works lack both the delicacy and the sparkle of the Lane studies; they ask for color. In black and white on a tinted ground they are, if anything, duller, without either dash or brilliance; they demand color. In examples professionally hand-colored in the shop, they are superb items every way exciting. (Examples colored by amateurs after purchase can be quite raw and crude.)

Americans should not make the mistake of thinking of these works in terms of our hand-colored Curriers and Saronys of like date. The two are as far apart as was the Opera in our two countries a century ago. The professional colorists of that day in London were skilled and painstaking artisans who knew how to achieve a smoothness, evenness, a flat wash of tint so perfect that we are often puzzled: is it painted or printed in colors? We are convinced that it was always painted on.

Unlike the Lane studies where the design was composed inside the borders of the stone, capitalized the texture of the stone, and even made lyric the rest-space generally left around the drawing, these Bouvier works regarded the stone as a surface to be covered, with the stone showing through only as the texture of a canvas appears on the surface of an oil-painting. The surface was meticulously worked all over.

In the composition itself, the interest is diffused. The dancer or couple of dancers dominates all, it is true; yet the background is as self-assertive as the figure(s), claims attention immediately the eye leaves the dancer(s), asks almost equal and simultaneous attention, is never negative or non-committal.

Again, the portraiture proper in these works is perfunctory and conventional. It never attracts attention on its own. The face does not register as a studied likeness. The portrayal is of a scene, an action recorded. The compelling interest is the entire picture in all its details.

Here is offered what was habitually lacking in the Lane studies. Here is not just the dancer in isolation. Here is the dancer *sur la scene*. Here are precise records of the scenic works of the Grieves and the Marshalls, the very scenes to their minute details amidst which these dancers actually danced, and a frank delight in that scenery on its own account. Here is the lure and the rapture of the theatre. Here is exactly what the spectators really saw. In brief, the Lane School recorded persons of mark in the dance world; the Bouvier School recorded the ballet as such, a theatre piece—dancer, dance, and all the stage environment and accessories. No wonder color was asked for.

When those professional colorists were done with one of these prints, the rather lustreless and very busy drawing on stone had become a thing of velvety depths in which gleamed and glowed pulsat-

ing lights and somnolent fires. The result was opulent. Time has doubtless helped these works, but it would not appear that they were ever garish and the craftsmanship of the coloring is of a perfection. A light now suffuses the whole scene. It seems to come from within the print itself, to shine through the colors and around the design with magical loveliness. It has none of the translucence of the French color prints. It recalls nothing so much as the soft amber lights that play about beneath those old English mezzotints or that radiate from colored examples of them. These lithographs have the richness of a canvas; they are the farthest hark from the crayon sketches of the Lane works. As art-lithographs they never glory in their medium; rather, they make it serve their ulterior ends. Theirs is a distinct if exotic loveliness.

These large prints, from meticulously worked stones, handsomely hand-colored, were never any trifles, as were the hasty Favorites of the Ballet works. They were gentry. They were not, however, nobility. Their appeal was popular. They possess neither the sheer, unadorned elegance nor the calm aloofness of the *Souvenir d'Adieu*, whose beauty asks another set of values. They are rich, but they are also showy. They are utterly theatre and completely fascinating.

There remains to remark what these two Schools had in common between themselves and in uncommon with so much elsewhere in ballet prints. This can only be called the camera eye. For whatever may have been suppressed in some of these studies or as insistently recorded in others, neither artist ever presumed upon his subject or went off on a tangent all his own. Both alike have honestly and scrupulously set down what they saw. Poetry, lyricism, the studies of both schools have, but any idiosyncrasy or fantasy of their own they have both abjured. This is just how those dancers looked or seemed to look to their audiences. This was the Romantic Ballet on the London stages to the life.

There may be as good and forthright records elsewhere; there can be no more honest, no more factual records anywhere. Here are mirrors to the ballet of a century ago in London. Here are curtains again raised for a second upon a beauty seen and registered by the sensitive eye, the retentive mind, the quick and skilled hands of this cosmopolitan, international company of London artists who were concerned above all to catch for their public and for posterity these photographic accounts and better of the most fugitive of the arts theatrical.

One and all, we should say, these English documents are thoroughly dependable. In the iconography of the ballet, that is the highest possible praise. In our American prints this virtue was notable for its rarity. We shall encounter it again on the Continent. But nowhere else shall we ever encounter it to a greater extent or, perhaps, to the same extent—certainly not as the practically invariable outstanding characteristic of a monumental gallery of ballet prints truly impressive on all counts. This English gallery has its limitations, but within its set bounds it is unsurpassed.





Plate XXVIII. Cat. No. 127

Clara Vestris Webster

# Catalogue of Souvenir Prints

## FOREWORD

*Sources* (Including Illustrations): Dance Archives, Museum of Modern Art, New York, Nos. 4, 71 (plain), 90, 91, 137, 183 to 190, 192; Harvard College Theatre Collection, Nos. 7, 13, 19, 23, 25, 30, 35 to 37, 44, 45, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 71, 83 (note), 85, 88, 89, 92, 94, 97, 99 (India), 101, 102, 107, 108, 115, 119, 120, 121, 128, 130, 132, 133, 138, 140, 141, 144 to 146, 159 to 161, 193 (Nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12); New York Public Library, Music Division, No. 162; David Mann, Nos. 26, 38, 193 (No. 9); Lillian Moore, Nos. 51, 82, 191; Beaumont Catalogue in 'The Romantic Ballet in Lithographs of the Time', Nos. 18, 32, 54, 57, 58, 63, 65, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 100, 103, 104, 107, 122, 123; Milan Catalogue, *Ritratti*, etc., Nos. 86, 147; Pirchan's 'Fanny Elssler', No. 148; Disher's 'Clowns and Pantomimes', No. 69; George Chaffee, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8 to 12, 14 to 17, 20 to 22, 24, 27 to 29, 31, 33, (34), 39, 40 to 43, 45 to 50, 52, 53, 55, 56, 61, 67, 72, 73, 75, 78, 81, 83, 84, 87, 93 to 96, 98, 99 (board), 100, 105, 106, 109 to 118, 124 to 127, 129, (131), 134 to 136, 139, 142, 143, 149 to 158, 163 to 182, 193 (Nos. 1, 13).

The Catalogue conforms to our earlier checklists in *Dance Index*, orthography, etc., being reported as found. But here we have had, on 22 occasions, to cite prints from reports, as acknowledged above. All other entries (183) are from first-hand notations.

Prints recorded by Mr. Beaumont are noted; otherwise, the item is new (over 125 instances). Except for Nos. 2 & 83, all illustrations are novelties, selected for their interest in ballet history, especially on the English stage.

Mr. Beaumont's Catalogue is of international scope and avowedly only a selection. Ours is restricted to English prints, lithographs fine to indifferent (177), plus a few engravings (28) of various sorts. The two Catalogues, while not comparable, are complementary. Our concerns made it impossible not to cover common ground.

References: Beaumont — Catalogue in above volume; CBB — Beaumont's Complete Book of Ballets; — Beaumont's Five Centuries of Ballet Design; Vuillier — his 'La Danse'.

### Music Title Illustrations

The English music-title illustrations of the ballet give every promise of being second to none in variety, factual interest, and general artistic excellence. We have not attempted to handle them here. Mr. Sitwell was of the whimsical opinion that the 20 or so in Mr. Beaumont's select list represented 'perhaps, 70% of the know music-titles'. We suspect that it does not represent 10% of the worthwhile English items that exist. Indirectly, we remarked a number of the English prints in our catalog of the American music prints. Here, we have paused to note perhaps 25 entries. Somebody on the scene ought to research this most promising field and publish a methodical study of it.

**ALBERT** — See Series A. and B.

### ARIEL

1 — Ariel / Engraved by F. Bacon from the Original Portrait painted by E. T. Parris. / Printed by McQueen / Pub. Smith, Elder & Co., London (n.d.) — Vignette; 8½ x 12½; colored.

Our information, which lacks any proof, is that this is a study of Priscilla Horton. We have seen reproductions identified as Carlotta Grisi (who danced Ariel in Mendelssohn's *La Tempesta*), and American versions, one entitled *Augusta*, exist. This may clear the record. (Illus. Vuillier)

### AURIOL, Francesca

2 — Madlle. Auriol and Mr. Flexmore, / In the favourite / Pas "La Truandaise", / In The Ballet of Esmeralda, / Played at the Princess's Theatre, / Produced by Mr. Flexmore, April 24th, 1848. / (On stone:) Baugnet 1848 London / Drawn on Stone from Life by C. Baugnet / M. & N. Hanhart Lith. Printers. — Oblong, with rounded top corners; 11¾ x 15¾h.; colored. (Beaumont, No. 80, Illus.)

C. Baugnet was a Belgian painter and lithographer. He executed the plates for the Belgian Gallery of Brussels' dramatic artists in the 1840's, ¾-length 'action' studies, some of dancers, as Neodot and Hermine Elssler. Harvard also has an elegant water-color by him of Celeste in her Greek Romaika costume. He worked for some years in London. (Plate XXII)

3 — The Auriol Polka / Comp. C. Matthews / Dedicated to Melle. Francesca Auriol / London, Duncomb & Moon. — Vignette; anon.; 7¼ x 9¼h.; colored; 'Auriol' inscribed within wreath on ground. (Music)

### BALLIN, Miss (Mrs. George Gilbert)

4 — Of this popular English dancer we have never seen a souvenir lithograph. A number must exist, especially, music-title illustrations. Now that she and some of her chief roles have been signalized, collectors will undoubtedly ferret out prints of her. She *had* to be pictorially present here, so a woodcut from the London Illustrated News of 1845 has been reproduced. As art-prints, such items (and, along with them, the Penny Plain souvenirs) are of small account; but they are not to be scorned, they much enrich the iconographic documentation. These ballet items must one day be edited. Our illustration is almost full-size. Miss Ballin is here shown as the Countess with Mazurki (Gilbert) in Act II, Scene I, of *Le Diable a Quatre*. (Plate VIII)

### BARNETT, Miss Millie

5 — Miss Barnett / of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane / Engraved by Cs. Phillips from an Original Painting in the Possession of W. Kenneth. / Printed by Bishop & Co. / London, Pub. W. Kenneth at his Dramatic Repository... Decr. 23, 1826 — Aquatint; 9¼ x 14h.

6 — Miss Barnett / As Columbine, Theatre Royal Drury Lane, / Drawn from Life on Stone by B. W. Hawkins... / Printed by W. Day, — Vignette;



3¾ x 6¾h.; colored. (Plate IX)

**BARRYMORE, Ann** (Adams)

7—Of this excellent English dancer there are souvenir prints, but, like studies of Mrs. Parker and others, they are too early for our dates. However, Mrs. Barrymore danced throughout the 1820's as a First Dancer, and into the 1830's (Fenella, etc.). The Harvard College Catalogue records her death '1862, aged 62', but she was surely born before 1800 if a print of her as Zulima belongs to a book of 1803.

There is, however, a lithograph of Mrs. Barrymore as Maria Grazia with J. W. Wallack as Massaroni in 'The Brigand', one of her great pantomime roles. They are seated together on a rock. The study was drawn by Heath and (on stone) by Lefevre, and published by R. Havell, London, 1832 (7¾ x 9½h.). We enter it for the record — a ballet print of sorts!

**BARVILLE, Mlle.** — See 'Esmeralda'.

**(BROCARD and COULON?)**

8—La Fleur du Village/London, Engraved and Published January 1st, 1827; by J. Cross... — Oblong; 9½ x 12h.; aquatint (in colors or tinted?)  
9—L'Adonis du Village/London, Engraved and Published January 1st, 1827, by J. Cross... — Oblong; 9½ x 12h.; aquatint (in colors or tinted?)

These are the two finest English ballet prints of the 1820's known to us; that of the man is one of the most elegant items on a danseur to be found in 19th century prints. They are unquestionably portrait studies — but of whom? We have guessed the dancers as Charles and Ronzi Vestris, but the date is an obstacle to that. The date would suggest Mlle. Brocard and M. Coulon in some ballet of 1826. The prints are pendants; both have same scenic background, measurements, etc.

**BRUGNOLI — Samengo, Amalia**

10—Monr. and Made. Brugnoli-Samengo, /as they appeared in a favorite Pas de Deux at the Italian Opera, drawn from the Life, and most respectfully dedicated to them by James Minasi./Printed by C. Kellam/London, pub. May 5th, 1832...by Ed. Lacey. — Vignette; 10¾ x 9¼h.

11—Madame Brugnoli and Samengo/Printed by Graf and Soret — Vignette; 4¾ x 6⅞h. Ink-drawing type of lithograph (?). Perhaps a version, reversed, of a study in Series B below, but with too many differences in details to say. See Series B.

**CAMILLE, Mlle. C.** — See under 'Cerrito'.

**CELESTE, Celine**

12—Celeste (facs. sig.)/As the Maid of Cashmere/E. T. Parris del./A. Dick, sc./Printed R. Miller — Line engraving; octagonal; 11 x 15h.

13—Celeste (facs. sig.)/as the Maid of Cashmere/(On stone:) E. T. Parris, 1837/A. Picken lith./London, Pub. Nov. 20, 1837, by Hodgson and Graves — Octagonal; black and white on tinted ground; 11¼ x 15h.

Two prints of same painting. There are, however, slight differences in details; in the engraving, Celeste wears a lace cap that falls around her neck to either side; in the lithograph this is omitted. Engravers are forever taking such liberties with pictures translated into prints. (Illus. Connoisseur, June, 1937.)

14—Celeste/as the Arab Boy/(On stone:) W. Drummond/A Sketch by William Drummond./London, Pub. Thos. McLean, 1838. — Octagonal; 11 x 14¾h.; colored. (Plate XVIII)

15—Mademoiselle Celeste/as/Madeline in St. Mary's Eve/(facs. sig.)/Drawn & Lithographed by J. Brandard/J. Graf, Printer to Her Majesty/Welch & Gwynne, Printsellers to the Royal Family...London, May 18, 1838./Proof. — Octagonal; 8¾ x 11½h.

16—Mademoiselle Celeste, as Madeline,/in the popular drama of/St. Mary's Eve!!/A. E. Chalton, R.A./M. Gauci, Lith./London, Pub. June 1838, by Hodgson & Graves... — Hexagonal; 10¾ x 14½h.; black and white on tinted ground. Celeste is here shown in the costume in which she danced her long popular number, La Normande. In this piece she played her first speaking role. It is interesting to compare these two 'Madeline' prints as to costume treatment, etc. It is easy to see how much more precise and photographic is the Chalton-Gauci record. This is apparently an early Brandard, before he made his Hanhart connection. Brandard was a facile and effective artist, but commercial, i.e. dashing and hurried.

17—(Polka by Celeste & Webster) — Hexagonal; 9½ x 14h.; example trimmed close to print and re-mounted; titling as given written in by hand; beautifully colored. (Plate I)

This piquant study shows Celeste and Benjamin Webster in 'The Trumpeter's Daughter' at the Haymarket Theatre, in an inevitable Polka of around 1844. Their 'number' was greatly admired and long remembered, as our earlier quotation from John Coleman's 'Players and Playwrights I Have Known' (Phila., 1890), evidences.

**CERRITO, Fanny**

18—(Fanny Cerrito (facs. sig.)/La Lituana. Drawn & Lith. by Bouvier. Pub. London, T. McLean, July 6th, 1840. Hexagonal; 10¾ x 14¾h.; colored. See Beaumont, p. 119, and illustration.)

19—Madle. Cerito & Sigr. Guerra/In the favorite Ballet of,/"Le Lac des Fees"/By Guerra./ (Facs. Sig's. both dancers.)/From a drawing by Mrs. Philip Barnard. On Stone by Erxleben./Day & Haghe, Lith'rs. to the Queen/London, Pub. R. Ackermann...July 6th, 1840. — Oblong; 13¾ x 16¾h.; exquisitely hand colored. (Beaumont No. 50, Illus.)

20—Mademoiselle Cerrito/A. DeValentini (painter)/J. S. Templeton Lith./J. Graf, Printer to her Majesty/London, Pub. July 15th, 1840, by J. Mitchell...Paris, Chez Rittner & Goupil. — Hexagonal; 13¼ x 18h.; colored. (Beaumont No.

55, Illus.)

**21** — (No title proper.) / A. DeValentini / Engraved by H. S. Ball / London, Pub. July 8th, 1842, by J. Mitchell... Paris, Rittner & Goupil. — Hexagonal;  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ h.; colored and black examples exist.

Smaller and simplified version of No. 20 above; both are souvenirs of Cerrito in *Le Lac des Fees*.

**22** — Fanny Cerrito (facs. sig.) / in the ballet / *Le Toreador* / Bouvier del. / Printed by W. Kohler... / London, Pub. by T. McLean... Oct'er. 1st, 1840. — Hexagonal;  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{5}{8}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 58, Illus.)

**23** — Madlle. Cerito / in the highly popular ballet of / *Alma*; ou, *La Fille du Feu* / Drawn by R. J. Hamerton / London, Pub. William Spooner... July 12th, 1842 — Octagonal;  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ h.; colored; no lithographer or printer given. (Plate VII)

**24** — Fanny Cerrito (facs. sig.) / In the New Grand Ballet / *Alma* / ou *La Fille du Feu* / No. 1. *La Bohemienne* / Bouvier del. / Printed at 70 St. Martins Lane / Pub. by T. McLean... July 13th, 1842 — Hexagonal;  $11 \times 15$ h.; colored.

'No. 1' suggests at least a 'No. 2' something, projected and probably carried out — but what? (Beaumont No. 46, Illus.)

**25** — Fanny Cerrito & C. Camille, / in the / *Varsoivienne* / As Danced at Her Majesty's Theatre, July 21st, 1842, / (Facs. sig's.) / E.K. del. / Printed by G. E. Madeley... — Vignette;  $10 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ h.; colored.

**26** — (Cerrito and Camille?) Untitled vignette,  $8 \times 8$ h., touched up with color, signed on stone, J. Brandard, and enclosed in oblong gilt line-box,  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 11$ h. Obviously also intended for music-title use, but in this example an easel-print. Probably of above dancers in same Pas.

**27** — Fanny Cerrito (facs. sig.) / In the *Divertissement* / *Une Soiree de Carnaval* / J. Bouvier, del. / Printed at 70 St. Martins Lane / Pub. T. McLean... Aug'st 13th, 1842 — Hexagonal;  $11 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ h.; black and white on tinted ground. (Beaumont No. 57, Illus.)

**28** — Fanny Cerrito (facs. sig.) / in the favourite pas / *La Gitana* / J. Bouvier del. / Printed at 70 St. Martin's Lane / Pub. T. McLean... Sept'r 1st, 1842. — Hexagonal;  $11 \times 14\frac{3}{8}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 49, Illus.)

**29** — Mademoiselle Fanny Cerrito / in the Grand Ballet of Ondine produced at Her Majesty's Theatre, June 22nd, 1843, / Drawn from the Life by Monsr. Numa Blanc / C. Graf, Lith. to Her Majesty. / London, Pub. July 15th, 1843, by John Mitchell... / Paris, chez Goupil et Comp'e... — Octagonal;  $12\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{5}{8}$ h.; in black. (Beaumont No. 54, Illus.)

**30** — Madlle. Fanny Cerito, / In the Grand Ballet of / *Ondine*; ou, *La Naiade*, / Scene — *Pas de L'Ombre*. / Drawn by J. H. Lynch / London, Pub. William Spooner, August 5th, 1843. — Octagonal,  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 53, Illus.)

**31** — Fanny Cerrito (facs. sig.) / as / *La Vivandiere* / J. Bouvier, del. / Printed at 70 St. Martins Lane / Pub. T. McLean... June, 1844. — Hexagonal;  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 60, Illus.)

**32** — (*La Vivandiere* by Madlle. Cerito and Monsr. St. Leon, of Her Majesty's Theatre; drawn by Numa Blanc; Pub. London, J. Mitchell; Hexagonal,  $10\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ ; colored; see Beaumont No. 59.)

**33** — (*Redowa Polka* by Cerrito and St. Leon.) Trimmed and re-mounted example; Hexagonal;  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 14$ h.; colored. Mr. Beaumont supplies the titling, as follows: *La Redowa Polka* / Danced by / Madlle Cerito and Monsr. St. Leon. Drawn and lithographed by J. Bouvier; Pub. London, T. McLean, June, 1844. (Beaumont No. 56, Illus.)

**34** — (*Mazurka* by Cerrito and St. Leon?) Here, surely, is an English print, though we have never either seen or heard of it! Moreover, it is, we imagine, a pendant to our Entry No. 80, below. We have a pair of Berlin prints, lithographed by Blau. One is of the *Grisi-Perrot* pendant. The other identifies the dancers as Cerrito and Bonnet in a *Mazurka*. It is also attributed as 'Ges v. Bovier' (Drawn by Bouvier). There can be little doubt that there is such a Bouvier print.

**35** — Madlle Fanny Cerito. — Trimmed example; vignette;  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ h.; in black, on India paper of octagonal shape, and this last, over-all, is probably what Mr. Beaumont reports:  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{8}$ h.; a lithograph by Dickinson after a drawing by J. Deffett Francis, Pub. London, J. S. Welch, April 20th, 1846. (Beaumont No. 62, Illus.)

This is a study of Cerrito as *La Sylphide*. See, also, below, 'Pas de Quatre', 'Pas des Deesses', and Series C.

#### CHEVALLIER, Zara

**36** — Mademoiselle Zara Chevallier — Vignette;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ h.; in black; trimmed. Probably English and around 1843. (Plate No. VI)

#### D'ANTONIE (D'Antoine), Elise

**37** — Elise D'Antonie (facs. sig.) / J. Tonks Litho... Birmingham. — Oblong;  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ h.; black and white on tinted ground.

Subject full-length, in Spanish costume, dancing. This tiny work is of unusual interest. It is the only English provincial souvenir of ballet that we have come upon. But Dublin, Edinborough, and other cities ought also to have their own souvenirs.

#### DAVIS — Gibson, Mrs.

**38** — *Columbine*. / Mrs. Gibson, late Miss Davis, of Covent Garden Theatre. — Trimmed example; vignette;  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 9$ h.; in black; Circa 1834.

One of the many *Columbine* souvenirs. Miss Davis was an Opera House debutante who later found a wider field on the English boards.

**DESPLACES, Henri** — See under 'Dumilatre'.

**DI RHONA, Albina** — See Series D.

#### DUMILATRE, Adele

**39** — Adele Dumilatre (facs. sig.) / As *Myrtha*. / In the Ballet of *Giselle*. / Bouvier del / Litho. at



the General Establishment, 70 St. Martins Lane / London, Pub. T. McLean... April 20, 1843. — Hexagonal;  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont, No. 73, Illus.)

40 — L'Aurore — Adele Dumilatre / D. Smith pinxt. / H. S. Ball sculpt. / London, Pub. April 23, 1843, by J. Mitchell. — Oblong with arched top; the plate  $14\frac{3}{4}$  ins. wide and high over all; the picture, a line and stipple engraving (*not* a lithograph),  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 12$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 70.)

41 — Adele Dumilatre (facs. sig.) / As la Diane chasseresse. / Bouvier del. / Printed at 70 St. Martins Lane / London, Pub. T. McLean... May 18th, 1843. — Hexagonal;  $11 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 72, Illus.)

This famous Pas, first danced in Paris by Grisi (in *La Jolie Fille de Gand*) became a fixture in ballet for decades — the Pas de Diane with its 'poses classiques'. It was a part of a revived interest in classic mythology as a ballet vehicle, evident in the 1840's, after the 1830's in Paris and London had as good as banished the theme. Dumilatre danced this as a *divertissement* in London her first season there, as the date on the print shows—a year before the ballet from which the Pas was lifted was seen there. However, Louise Fleury was to be London's favorite art subject in this number.

42 — Madelle. A. Dumilatre & Monsr. Desplaces, / In the Corsair. / At the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. / J. Bouvier delt. / Lith: 70, St. Martin's Lane. / Pub. Thos. McLean... Novr. 23rd, 1844. — Hexagonal;  $11 \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 71, Illus.)

#### DUVERNAY, Pauline

43 — Melle. Pauline Duvernay (facs. sig.) / Drawn from Life by J. R. Herbert & on Stone by R. J. Lane, A.R.A. / Printed by Graf & Soret / Pub. London, J. Dickinson, March 2, 1833 — Octagonal;  $9 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ h.; in black. (Beaumont No. 40, Illus.)

44 — Son Autographe Melle. Pauline Duvernay (all in facs. writing.) / As the Naiade in the Ballet of / The Sleeping beauty of the Wood / (Then, two lines in facs. handwriting:) rôle de la Nayade dans le ballet / de la belle au bois dormant. / Drawn by Novello. / On Stone by W. Sharp / Printed by C. Hullmandel / Pub. S. W. Fores... 1833. — Octagonal;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ h.; in black. (Beaumont No. 41, Illus.)

Mr. Sitwell finds these two Sleeping Beauty studies of Duvernay to have details 'inappropriate to the precise subject from which this ballet was taken', and the prints themselves to be 'uncertain in their attribution', though probably 'of English origin'. The titling leaves no least doubt that they are English prints. Playbills leave as little doubt as to the subject, etc. They represent a 'character introduced 100 years afterwards, during which period the Princess has been doomed by the Fairy to sleep' and announced as 'The Spirit of the

Princess (assuming the form of the Principal Naiade) — Madlle. Duvernay'. Taglioni, who created this role in the original Paris Opera production, is shown in the same general garb in both French and English prints.

45 — Pauline Duvernay (facs. sig.) / (On stone:) J. F. Lewis 1837 / Printed C. Hullmandel / London, Pub. Feb. 14, 1837, by Thos. McLean... Paris, chez Rittner & Goupil. — Octagonal;  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 43, Illus.)

Duvernay as Florinda in *The Devil on Two Sticks*. Note: Mr. Beaumont gives measurements  $14\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{4}$  ins. The four examples known to us all measure alike, as given by us.

46 — Pauline Duvernay (facs. sig.) / A. E. Chalon, R.A. / R. J. Lane, A.R.A. / Printed by J. Graf. / London, Pub. March 16th, 1837, by J. Mitchell... Paris, chez Rittner & Goupil. — Vignette;  $8 \times 11$ h.; in black, partly colored. Duvernay as Florinda. (Beaumont No. 42, Illus.)

47 — (Untitled study.) (Initialed on stone:) HC(?) / Edwd. Morton lith. / Printed by J. Graf / London, Pub. May 1837, by J. Mitchell... Paris, chez Rittner & Goupil... — Oblong; vignette;  $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ h.; colored. (Plate No. XX) (Beaumont No. 45.)

The Harvard Catalogue enters this print under Ellsler. The facts that it is of English origin and dated 1837 clinch the immediate identification. However, the fact that the study has been left anonymous as clearly indicates that it was also intended to serve as an Ellsler souvenir — especially, in Paris — an iconographic quirk. Likewise, Matthew's burlesque *Cachucha* was of Duvernay — in London. In Paris, it would again have been regarded as a take off of Fanny, so that companion print was also left untitled. These prints are pendants and a unique pair in subject and spirit.

48 — Mademoiselle Duvernay, / Dancing the Cachoucha. / Presented with No. 1 of the Wonder / June 24th 1837. — No further titling; Vignette;  $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ h. A crude little souvenir, probably a version of Brandard's music-title illustration.

49 — Mdlle. Duvernay. / (On stone:) R. J. Hamerton. — No further titling; Vignette;  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ h.; in black, on India paper, figure colored. An easel-print example of music-title illustration entered Beaumont No. 109.

50 — Paulina Duvernay — as the Maid of Ter racina / in the Ballet called 'Il Briganti' Performed at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. / T. W. Jones delin't. — Aquatint; Vignette;  $5\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ h.

51 — In Miss Lillian Moore's collection of ballet prints there is an unusual little study, inscribed on the stone 'Pauline Duvernay,' showing the dancer in travesty. It is a vignette;  $4 \times 7$ h., in a double-rule box,  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ h.; on India paper. On the back has been written in pencil, 'Duvernay in Sire Huon by A. E. Chalon?'. Only the first fact is indubitable.

**ELSSLER, Fanny**

**52** — Fanny Elsler (facs. sig.) / Pub. by J. B. Brooks... London, et chez Retner & Goupil, Paris, March 15, 1837. — Trimmed; no printer, etc.;  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$  plus high; colored.

This is the first of three puzzling prints, including No. 53, just below, and No. 119, under Taglioni. This first work has not been before signalized at all and the other two only in equivocal fashion. This work was, in all probability, printed by Lemerrier, Benard & Cie.; we know that the other two were, and this belongs with them. We are no print experts; the iconography of the ballet is our hobby; however, we strongly suspect the 'Lemerrier, Benard & Cie.' was a London lithographic establishment and that these three works are, accordingly, English prints.

This first print is a close but slightly smaller and less elegant version of a French work, drawn and signed on stone by A. Deveria and printed by Lemerrier in Paris. The originals of all three works belong to a 'Travestiments' portfolio published in France. The present study is No. 29 in that series, and prints are to be found both with and without Elssler's name on them. The other two prints, according to the Colas Catalogue, were issued unnumbered and 'hors series', but as further plates to the set.

The print just below, No. 53, has been edited by Mr. Beaumont (see entry No. 22 in his catalogue). But that also is no original Deveria work. It is a new drawing on stone, a close copy of the Deveria original, though without its sparkle. These three English versions are to be noted, first, because most English ballet prints are original works, and, second, to emphasize how reluctantly English artists and artisans took to lithography and how much English lithographs owe to the great number of foreigners who either settled in or visited and worked in London. The prints are English because printed in London, but thank goodness, the Lafosses, Levasseurs, Bouviers, Baugnietts, de Valentinis, Gaucis, Blancs, Hullmandels, Hanharts, Grafs, etc., who account for so many English ballet prints, did go there — and found there work aplenty to do.

**53** — Fanny Elssler / (Ballet du Diable boiteux 3e Acte) / Lith par Lafosse d'après Deveria & Barre / Im. de Lemerrier, Benard & Cie. / Paris, chez Rittner & Goupil... London Ackermann & Co. — Oblong;  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 22, Illus.)

**54** — (Madlle. Fanny Elsler / In the favourite ballet of the Brigand of Terracina; Drawn and lithographed by Weld Taylor; Pub. London, T. McLean, Aug. 17, 1838; in black;  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ h. See Beaumont No. 20.)

**55** — La Voliere — Portrait of Mademoiselle F. Elssler. / Drawn on Stone, by M. Gauci, from a Drawing by J. Deffett Francis. / Printed by F. Gauci... / London, August 1838. Pub. by Welch & Gwynne... Paris, chez Rittner & Goupil... /

Proof / (facs. sig.) — Oblong;  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{4}$ h.; in black, on India paper. One of a pair; the pendant of No. 112 below (Beaumont No. 27, illus.)

**56** — fanny Elssler (facs. sig.) / In the Cracovienne Dance, in the / Ballet of / The Gipsy. / Bouvier del. / London, Pub. T. McLean... Aug. 24, 1839. — Hexagonal;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ h.; colored; no printer given. (Beaumont No. 24, Illus.)

**57** — (Fanny Elssler (facs. sig.) / in the favourite ballet / La Tarentule. Drawn and lithographed by Bouvier; Printed W. Kohler; Pub. London, T. McLean, April 7, 1840; Hexagonal;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ h.; Colored. See Beaumont No. 26, Illus.)

**58** — (La Castilliano Bolero danced by Madelle Fanny Elssler and Monsr. Perrot in the ballet divertissement Le Delire d'un Peintre. Drawn and lithographed by Bouvier; Pub. London, T. McLean, Oct. 5, 1843; Octagonal. See Beaumont No. 21, Illus.)

See, also, Series C and F.

**ELSSLER, Hermine** — See Series M

**ESMERALDA**

**59** — Chas. W. Glover's / Esmeralda Quadrilles / from the grand ballet / As Performed at Her Majesty's Theatre / Comp. by Cesare Pugni / (On stone:) J. Brandard / M. & N. Hanhart, Lith. Printers... — Vignette; circa  $7 \times 8$ h.; in black. (Plate II) (Music)

St. Leon (Phoebe) in a 'pas de poisson' bound; to left, Adelaide Frassi (Fleur-de-Lys); to right, her companions, Mlles. Ferdinand and Barville (Diane and Beranger); in background, left, Perrot (Gringoire) and, right, Grisi (Esmeralda); seated, Mme. Copere; Act II, Scene 2, of the ballet.

**60** — La Truandaise / danced by / Mlle. Carlotta Grisi / In the Grand Ballet of / Esmeralda / Comp. by Cesare Pugni / (On stone:) J. Brandard / M. & N. Hanhart, lith. Printers / London, Pub. Chappell. — Vignette; circa  $8 \times 8$ ; in black. (Music)

**FABBRI** — Bretin, Flora

**61** — Flora Fabbri (facs. sig.) / as Mazourka in the ballet of the / Devil to Pay. / J. W. Childs, del. / J. Brandard, lith. / Printed M. & N. Hanhart / London, Pub. Feb. 10th, 1846, by Messrs. Fores... / Paris, Goupil & Vibert. — Oblong;  $11 \times 16$ h.; Colored. (Beaumont No. 74, Illus.)

**FAIRBROTHER, Louise**

**62** — Miss Fairbrother / as Eglantine in Valentine & Orson / J. W. Child del. / J. Brandard lith. / London, Pub. April 23rd, 1845, by Messrs. Fores... — Oblong;  $11 \times 15\frac{7}{8}$ h.; in black; no printer given. (Plate XXVII)

This amusing study of the buxom and glamorous Fairbrother associates itself with two extremes in ballet prints, as a subject and costume study. It recalls the superbly aristocratic studies of the great Court Dancers of the Grand Ballet of two centuries earlier (1600-50) as designed by Daniel Rabel for the last and 'serious' Entree in the Ballets de Cour. It is also a lithographic expression of the



Penny Plains of its own day — when painstakingly applied with embossed gilt and silver papers, satin, sparklers, etc., which are now one of the most diverting of Romantic trifles in English theatre prints. Like them, Fairbrother's apparel was dazzling to behold.

Further, this is the only lithograph we recall that gives us today an idea of those noble warriors of 'The Revolt of the Harem', and its successors, who appeared as the 'Commander of the Female Army' for the 'Grand Evolutions' of its platoons, while it bivouaced in some 'Pass in the Alpuxarras Mountains', etc. Here are Taglioni, Duvernay, Leroux, Celeste, Ballin, et al. Such 'numbers' were then introduced anywhere on any least pretext. Thus, in Gustavus III in 1841, the Times remarked: 'The Ball Scene was of course the most successful, and that deservedly; for an excellent grotesque dance by three Chinese dolls (probably W. H. Payne and the two Suttons) was introduced into it, and some young ladies, with glittering breastplate, spears, and shields, went through a pretty series of manoeuvres, Miss Ballin being their chief.'

**63** — There is another study of this minor dancer described by Mr. Sitwell; see 'Beaumont Catalogue', p. 94.

**FERDINAND**, Mlle. See under 'Esmeralda'.

**FLEURY**, Louise

**64** — Louise Fleury (facs. sig.) / as / The Beauty of Ghent / J. Bouvier, Del. / Lithog. 70 St. Martins Lane / Pub. T. McLean... March 28th, 1844. — Hexagonal;  $11\frac{3}{8} \times 15\frac{3}{8}$ h.; black on tinted ground; also, colored. (Beaumont No. 75.)

**65** — (Louise Fleury (facs. sig.) / Pas de Diane, / in the ballet / of / The Beauty of Ghent. / Drawn and on stone by Bouvier; Hexagonal;  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ h. Colored. See Beaumont No. 77, Illus.)

**66** — Mademoiselle Fleury / La jolie Fille de Gand / A. E. Chalon, R.A. / R. J. Lane, A.R.A. / Printed M. & N. Hanhart / London, Pub. May 1, 1844, by John Mitchell... Paris, chez Goupil et Vibert / Proof — Oblong;  $10 \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ h.; in black. (Beaumont No. 79, Illus.)

See series G; also, below, under 'Leroux'.

**FLEXMORE**, Richard

**67** — Mr. Flexmore. / (On stone:) J. T. Desvignes Delt 1850 / G. Giles Lith. / M. & N. Hanhart Impt. — Trimmed; Oblong;  $10\frac{3}{8} \times 14$ h.; in black and white on tinted ground. (Plate XXIII)

**68** — Flexmore / The Celebrated Dancer Comique / as he appeared before Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, H.R.H. Prince Albert and the whole of the Royal Family. / (On stone:) C N-G. — Margins trimmed; Vignette in fancy frame border; Oblong, over-all  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ h.; in black.

**69** — In Wilson Disher's 'Clowns and Pantomimes' there is reproduced another lithograph of this dancer in one of his famous impersonations of danseuses in vogue. It is inscribed, but we could decipher only 'Little dicky Flexmore... 1852'.

Unlike the Matthews' studies, Flexmore is not made up as a clown but for a straight take-off, in keeping with Mr. Disher's observation that he 'imitated Taglioni and other ballerine with grace and a little burlesque'. From the costume and the date, this might be Flexmore in an imitation of Pepita de Oliva, or either La Petra Camara or La Nena Perea. The study is a vignette in an oblong with an arched top. For illustration, see above volume, page 157.

See also under 'Auriol'.

**FRASSI**, Adelaide — See under 'Esmeralda'.

**GARCIA**, Felix — See under 'Perea'.

**GILBERT**, George — See under 'Ballin' and Series M.

**GRAHN**, Lucile

**70** — Melle. Lucile Grahne. / of Her Majesty's Theatre, in the character of / "Eoline ou la Dryade" / On Stone by Edward Morton from a Picture by S. M. Joy / M. & N. Hanhart, Lith Printers. / London, Pub. July 14th, 1845, by J. Mitchell. — Oblong with curved corners;  $13 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 64, Illus.)

**71** — Lucile Grahne (facs. sig.) / In Mons'r. Perrot's Ballet of / Catarina, ou la Fille du Bandit / J. Brandard delt. & lith. / Printed by M. & N. Hanhart / London, Pub. April 21st, 1846, by Messrs. Fores... — Oblong;  $11 \times 15\frac{7}{8}$ h.; Colored. (Beaumont No. 63, illus.) Also, plain. See Series L., also Nos. 94-95.

**GRISI**, Carlotta

**72** — Portraits of Carlotta Grisi and M. Perrot. / A Scene in the Ballet, called "Le Rossignol", as performed at the King's Theatre / Drawn and Etched by T. Jones, and Aquatinted by Hunt. / Pub. by Bell... London, June 1, 1836. — Oblong;  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ h.; plain. (Illus., Kirstein's 'Book of the Dance')

This and an aquatint of the Vestris-Mathews in a dance scene in 'One Hour, or the Carnival Ball', are companion prints, book illustrations. The study is of interest as the earliest London souvenir of Grisi — and of Perrot; further, because, music-title illustrations aside, it is the only English study that we have seen of a full stage-set and a ballabile in progress.

**73** — Carlotta Grisi (facs. sig.) / In the Popular Ballet of / Giselle / ou, les Willis. / J. Bouvier, del. / Printed at the Gen'l. Lith'c Estab't 70 St. Martins Lane / London, Pub. T. McLean... April 11th, 1842 — Oblong with arched top;  $11 \times 14\frac{3}{8}$ h.; black and white on tinted ground, also colored. (Beaumont No. 31, Illus., but without curving top.)

In his 1931 essay Mr. Beaumont read or guessed this lovely print right, but in his 1938 Catalogue, having only a trimmed example to go by and knowing a smaller French version by Challamel, he ascribed the study to the latter. As the Challamel print belongs to a volume published in 1844, we must take it that the English Bouvier is the original.

**74** — (Carlotta Grisi (facs. sig.) / in the favourite ballet of / *Giselle*; ou les Wilis. — Drawn and lithographed by J. Brandard; published London, Fores; Octagonal;  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ h.; colored. See Beaumont No. 29, Illus.)

**75** — *Giselle Quadrilles / Made. Carlotta Grisi in the Ballet of Giselle.* / (On stone:) J. Brandard / M. & N. Hanhart lith. Printers / London, D'Almaine & Co. (n.d.) — Vignette;  $7 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ h.; in black. (Music)

Mr. Beaumont's No. 106 records a music-title illustration of Grisi in Act 1 of *Giselle*; the above is its sequel, in Act II.

**76** — (Beaumont No. 32 records a Grisi print thus: *Mademoiselle Carlotta Grisi / in Coralli and Gautier's Grand Ballet of / The Peri* / (Facs. sig. to right.) / Pub. London, Edward's Foreign Repository, Nov. 1, 1843.)

To judge from Mr. Beaumont's illustration, this work is a companion piece to his No. 31, precisely edited above (our No. 73); here he shows the arched top; however, as he does not give the measurements, the matter remains in doubt. On other occasions, the elegant illustrations in Mr. Beaumont's catalogue violate the actual shape of the prints, as in Plates No. 8, 9, 11, 12; just why, is not clear, because pains have obviously been taken to give the now unusual shapes of these old prints exactly.

**77** — (Carlotta Grisi / in the / Ballet of The Peri. Drawn and lithographed by J. Brandard; London, Fores, Jan. 1, 1844,  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ h. See Beaumont No. 33, Illus.)

**78** — *Mad'lle. Carlotta Grisi and Mons'r. Petipa / in the Grand Ballet of / The Peri.* / C. G. & J. H. Lynch, delt. / Printed by M. & N. Hanhart / London, Pub. William Spooner... Feb'y 5th, 1844. — Octagonal;  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 14$ h.; in black. (Illus., Dance Index, May, 1942.)

**79** — (Madlle. Carlotta Grisi in the Ballet of the Peri. Drawn by R. T. Stothard. On stone by F. R. J. Stothard.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ h.; in black. See Beaumont No. 36.)

**80** — (La Polka danced by Madelle Carlotta Grisi and Monsr. Perrot. At Her Majesty's Theatre. Drawn and lithographed by Bouvier. Published, London, T. McLean, May, 1844.  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 14$ h.; colored. See Beaumont No. 37, Illus.) Probably a pendant print; see above No. 34.

**81** — Madelle Carlotta Grisi, and Monsr. Perrot / in the very attractive ballet / *La Esmeralda.* / J. Bouvier, Del. / Litho. 70 St. Martins Lane / Published T. McLean... April 6th, 1844. — Hexagonal;  $11\frac{1}{8} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 28, Illus.)

It is interesting to compare this print and the Auriol-Flexmore print, both illustrated by Mr. Beaumont, for both are souvenirs of the same *Pas* in the same ballet, one as first seen in London at the Opera and the other at the Princess's Theatre.

**82** — *Lacy's Dramatic Costumes* — Plate 104 / Carlotta Grisi as a Fairy / Pub. T. H. Lacy, Lon-

don (n.d.) — Line-cut in box;  $5\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ h.; colored.

Grisi in *La Peri*. This popular and crude little work is interesting. It belongs to a series, but is listed here, because it is the only item from the series known to us. It suggests a London set of costume plates comparable to the famous Paris Martinet sets, though far inferior to those latter works. There may be other ballet items among its plates.

See, also, 'Esmeralda', 'Pas de Quatre', and Series C.

**GUERRA, Antonio** — See under Cerrito, Taglioni.

**HARDING, Emma**

**83** — Miss Emma Harding / as Queen of the Wilis / in the Phantom Dancers. / J. W. Child (del.) / J. Brandard (lith.) / Printed by M. & N. Hanhart / London, Pub. March 1st, 1847, by Messrs. Fores ... — Oblong;  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 15\frac{3}{8}$ h.; Colored. (Beaumont No. 81, Illus.) (Plate XV)

This is of Harding in the Adelphi burletta on *Giselle*, 'The Phantom Dancers'. There also exists a lithograph of Miss Sarah Jane Woolgar (Mrs. Alfred Mellon) in travesty as Duke Albert, in this piece. It was drawn by T. H. Wilson, on stone by D. Fabronius, published by W. Spooner, 1847;  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$ h.; colored. However, we do not associate Miss Woolgar directly with ballet.

**HEBERLE, Teresa** — See Series B.

**HULLIN, Josephine** — See Series A.

**KING HUMMING TOP**

**84** — Three Waltzes from King Humming-Top / The Splendid Drury Lane Pantomime. / Print'd by W. Cornish / Davidson's Musical Treasury, London. — Oblong with rounded top;  $8\frac{7}{8} \times 11$ h.; in colors(?). (Music) (Plate XIX)

By exception, we want to include this interesting music-title illustration of a Christmas Pantomime (1853), because of its ballet interest. It shows Mlle. Louise Blanche and Mlle. A. Cushnie, Tom. Matthews (Clown), the Ethair Family, etc., together with the ballet, flying and other.

**LEBLOND, M.** — See Series A.

**LEROUX, Pauline**

**85** — In the Harvard College Theatre Collection there is a loose sheet, anonymous, with 9 illustrations either side, 18 in all, of old ballet prints. We know the originals of all but two, and of those 16 items, 15 are English. The two that we do not know are titled there: 'Pauline Leroux in "The Devil in Love," 1844', and 'Louise Fleury in "The Beauty of Ghent", 1844'. The originals can only be English, as date, titling, etc., indicate. The elegance and chic of Leroux's costume as Urielle contrast strikingly with later studies of Marie II Taglioni as Satanelle and of Lydia Thompson in the same role. But where are original examples of these works to be located?

See, also, Series C.

It is a satisfaction to record these two English studies of this distinguished dancer-mime, for the absence of a single item on either Leroux or Sofia



Fuoco in Mr. Beaumont's select gallery of 'the great dancers of that time' has much troubled us, there being decent prints of both to be had — better, indeed, than some exhibits in that catalogue. For our own part, there were two dozen artists of that time better far than a number of the scant 19 honored there. Fleury, Auriol, Lee, Harding, are minor figures, indeed, in any sweeping international survey; even Webster was only coming into fame and only in London. However, when it comes to anybody's personal selection of 'the great dancers' of an era and 'good material' in prints, there can be no accounting for tastes, for what may be included or excluded. But Leroux and Fuoco ranked (and still rank) high by the most severe standards.

#### MARMET, Melina

**86** — (Melina Marmet / Pas de la Jardiniere dans la Fete des Fleurs / Royal Italian Opera (Covent Garden) / Auguste Hervieu dis. / Lith., London, Standige and Co. — Black on tinted ground; 260mm x 390mm (say, 10 x 15½h.) Described as: Full-length, front, in costume, dancing. Milan Catalogue: Ritratti Musicisti, etc., by Arrigoni-Bertarelli.)

**MARSHALL**, Mary Ann and Joseph — See Series M.

#### MATTHEWS, Thomas

**87** — (No title proper.) (On stone:) HC(?) / Edwd. Morton lith. / Printed by N. Graf. / London, Pub. May, 1837, by J. Mitchell... Paris, chez Rittner & Goupil... — Oblong; Vignette; 4¾ x 7½h.; in black. (Plate XXI)

Matthews' in his famous Cashew Nut Dance (Cachucha burlesque). Compare this with its companion print of Duvernay as Florinda. The two works were issued simultaneously and as a pair.

**88** — The India Rubber Dance / Thomas Matthews (facs. sig.) / Sketched from Life by Geo. F. Nye / Drawn on Stone by Arthur Parsey / Printed by R. Martin & Co. / London, Pub. March 27th (1837?), by Arthur Parsey & Geo. F. Nye. — Octagonal; 11⅞ x 15½h.; in black.

**89** — Thos. Matthews (facs. sig.) / of the Theatres Royal Covent Garden, Drury Lane & Edinburgh / Lee lithog. Holborn — Margins trimmed; no artist or publisher; Vignette; 9½ x 11½h.

The costumes in Nos. 87 and 88 are much alike though not identical and the names may have been both for the same dance or the second may have been an earlier offering by Matthews. No. 89 shows Matthews in a take-off of Elssler in her Cracovienne. There are other corking lithographs of Matthews, but as a clown. The above are of interest as falling within the range of ballet. Of Matthews in some role in a grand ballet, in which he so often danced and mimed, we have found no souvenirs. His fame as Clown overshadowed all else; but even there his accomplishments as a dancer received outstanding records. His Cachucha burlesque he did, however, dance in a straight ballet, in a pot pourri divertissement in which the

Taglionis also danced at Drury Lane in 1837, so those studies walk right onto the ballet scene!

#### MERCANDOTTI, Maria

**90** — Madlle. Mercandotti / in Cendrillon / Painted by M. W. Sharp / Engraved by Robt. Cooper — Vignette; 4 x 6½h.; Line and stipple. Though we have never seen it so identified, this plate belongs (perhaps hors series) to the British Theatrical Gallery, q.v. (Series A.)

#### NOBLET, Lise

**91** — Madlle. Noblet / in Cendrillon / Painted by M. W. Sharp / Engraved by Robt. Cooper — Vignette; 4 x 6½h.; Line and stipple. A print of same type as Mercandotti item just above. See No. 138.

#### O'BRYAN, Miss A.

**92** — Miss A. O'Bryan / As she appeared at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in the / Celebrated Dance of the Tyrolienne. / H. Andrews, Del. & Lithog. / Printed by C. Kellow / London, Pub. by F. Kennedy. — Octagonal; 9⅛ x 12½h.; in black on India paper. (Plate XII)

This exquisite study is, to our mind, among the charmers of the English gallery. It is static, as far as the pose of the dancer is concerned, but what a fresh, joyous pencil the artist wielded, in keeping with the ravishing person and personality of the dancer portrayed; a precious souvenir in the best tradition.

#### THE OPERA

**93** — The Opera / Brisk music gayer scenes announces, / and in a half-dressed danseuse bounces. / Vide Belle of a Season p. 61 / A. E. Chalon R.A. / H. Cook / London, Pub. for the Proprietor, by Longman & Co. / and Appleton & Co., New York. — Line and stipple (steel engraving?); octagonal; 5½ x 7½h.; in black, plain, and colored.

This pleasant tid-bit takes us into a stage loge of the Italian Opera House and makes us a part of the evening's entertainment. But who is the svelte danseuse that we see? Lady Blessington's poem does not specify, nor does the volume in which her poem and this engraving, among others, appeared carry any date. Elssler or Grahn might be guessed, or is the scene entirely imaginary?

#### PAS DE QUATRE

**94** — The Celebrated / Pas de Quatre / Composed by Jules Perrot / As danced at Her Majesty's Theatre, July 12th, 1845 / By the Four Eminent Danseuses, / Carlotta Grisi, Marie Taglioni, Lucile Grahn & Fanny Cerrito. / Drawn from the Life by Alfred Ed. Chalon, Esqre., R.A. / A. E. Chalon, R.A. / T. H. Maguire / Proof — Thus reads our fine example. The equally fine example in the Harvard College Theatre Collection, a later draw, with the titling completed, adds: M. & N. Hanhart, Lithographic Printers / London, Pub. Sept. 8, 1845, by J. Mitchell, Pub. to Her Majesty... Paris, chez Goupil et Vibert... — Hexagonal; 15 x 17½h.; on India paper, in black, delicately hand tinted in part; we have also seen examples in plain

black — to our mind, equally, if not more beautiful — and on plain paper. (Beaumont No. 8, Illus.)

#### PAS DES DEESSES

95 — The Celebrated / Pas des Deesses / In the Ballet / Le Jugement de Paris / As danced at Her Majesty's Theatre July, 1846 / By the Four Eminent Danseuses / Fanny Cerrito, Marie Taglioni, Lucile Grahn & Mon. St. Leon. / Drawn from the life by Jules Bouvier, Esqr. / J. Bouvier Litho. / 70 St. Martins Lane / London, Pub. Sept. 8, 1846, by T. McLean... — Hexagonal; 15 x 17½h.; probably in black and white on a tinted ground; colored. The altar in background is inscribed: A la plus belle. (Beaumont No. 9, in Catalogue; Illustrated, Complete Book of Ballets.) It is strange that Mr. Beaumont never got the artist of this work fixed in his mind. Having ascribed the print to Chalon in 1931 and being unable to find an example in London when preparing his 1938 Catalogue, he regrets there that he cannot give its measurements, but he still had never a doubt that the study was a Chalon work. However, why report one's guesses in a formal catalogue as though citing facts once before one's eyes? It is Bouvier's masterpiece in ballet prints, drawn and put on the stone by him. Note: the third goddess is Grahn, who created the role of Minerva, (not Rosati, named by Mr. Beaumont, who made her London debut only in 1847 and danced Grahn's role when the ballet was revived that year).

This second work was designed as the 1846 pendant to the 1845 Pas de Quatre. Its dimensions are precisely the same; moreover, both the wording and the very typography of the titling, have been made to agree. Most striking of all is Bouvier's adoption of the Chalon-Maguire style and treatment, i.e., the composition and rendering of his study. No wonder, never knowing or not recalling the actual artist, Mr. Beaumont opted for Chalon; it was a 1000 to 1 guess — yet wrong. Souvenirs of the Romantic Ballet are rich in pendant prints, in pairs, as the Barre-Deverias of Taglioni and Elssler; the Chalon-Lane Taglioni-Bayadere and the Francis-Gauci Elssler-Voliere; the Bouviers of the Grisi-Perrot-Polka and the Cerrito-St. Leon-Mazurka, etc. The existence and nature of these companion pieces are as much to be kept in mind as the integrity of the various series and portfolios of souvenirs issued. For this is also to see these now scattered and isolated works as they were intended to be seen and as they were known to the generation that first enjoyed them. Of all the splendid independent souvenir prints of the Romantic Ballet, four stand out in our mind as preeminent — the Pas de Quatre, this Pas des Deesses, the Lepaulle-(Girard?) mezzotint, La Sylphide, and The Three Graces: the Souvenir d'Adieu stands in a class all by itself. (The Three Graces is not present in this catalogue because it is not an English print. Unlike the Lepaulle study, we do not even know of an English version of it. We hope to publish our study of it in the near future.)

#### PEREA, Manuela

96 — Dona Manuela Perea, — known as / "La Nena," / and the Spanish Bolero Dancer, / Don Felix Garcia, — in the Spanish National Dance / Bolero Caleta. / Pub. by Tho's. McLean... Printed at 70 St. Martin's Lane / Hexagonal; 11 x 14¾h.; Colored. No date (circa 1845-46) or artist given.

97 — Senora Perea Nena / E. Lundgren / R. J. Lane, A.E.R.A. / London, Pub. Oct. 12th, 1856, by J. Mitchell... Paris, chez Goupil & Compie. / Printed M. & N. Hanhart. — Vignette, on India paper, over all, 87⁄8 x 13½h.

#### LA PERI

98 — Valse Favorite de / La Peri / Musique de Frc. Burgmuller / On Stone by R.F.C. / Printed by S. Parmenter / Pub. London, R. Cocks & Co. — Vignette: 9 x 8h.; in black. (Music) (Plate XXIV) Lucien Petipa on divan — and who are the others? At a guess, just behind Petipa, Mr. O'Bryan (a dealer in slaves), with Clara Webster, Proche-Giubilei, Petit-Stephan, and Clara Galby, as Almees in a Pas de Quatre, and Mrs. Payne (Aysha), entering.

PERROT, Jules — See under Esmeralda, Grisi, and Series L.

#### PLUNKETT, Adeline

99 — Adeline Plunkett (in elaborate script) / Drawn on Stone from Life by T. H. Maguire / M. & N. Hanhart Lith. Printers / Pub. Aug't. 7, 1847, by J. Mitchell... — Vignette; 10 x 11h.; in black on India paper; also, on plain cardboard, partly and tastefully hand-colored. (Beaumont No. 84, Illus.)

To judge from the halo of trepidant stars and the costume, this is Plunkett in a one-act version of La Peri which she danced at the Royal Italian Opera (Covent Garden), July-Aug., 1847. Mr. Beaumont's measurements, 11⅞ x 14¼h., must refer to India paper examples. The paper was cut octagon shaped and the study composed to the space; that space element is quite properly an integral part of the 'print' itself; but this consideration does not hold good for examples on plain paper.

100 — (Mademoiselle Plunkett / of her Majesty's Theatre / M. & N. Hanhart, printers; Published London, John Mitchell, Oct. 10, 1854; Lithographed by R. J. Lane, after an oil painting by R. Buckner, which is now in the Birmingham (Eng.) City Art Gallery; Hexagonal, in black on tinted ground; 9¾ x 15½h. See Beaumont No. 83.) Our example of this delectable study is sadly trimmed; but it was printed in black on India paper (no tinted ground) and has been delicately tinted in part. 'R. Buckner f', is signed on the stone. It shows Plunkett in her most famous Pas: La Manola.

#### PROCHE — Giubilei, Augustine

101 — Augustine Giubilei (facs. sig.) / The Zapateado, / as danced by / Madame Giubilei / in the Grand Ballet of the / Devil on Two Sticks / Arr. C. W. Glover / J. Graf, printer / Pub., London, H.



Falkner — Vignette;  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ h.; in black. (Music) See under Series M; also Dance Index, Dec. 1942, Cat. No. 32.

**ROMER, Miss**

**102** — There is an aquatint of Miss Romer as Colombine at Covent Garden, Wageman del., Holl sculp., a vignette, on a plate  $8 \times 12$ h., uncolored. It is worth citing in this vague fashion: a 'Miss Romer, the dancer' is mentioned by Lita Smith; but we do not have her straightened out in our mind. It is a plate of the 1820's.

**ROSATI, Carolina (Galletti)**

**103** — (Carolina Rosati (facs. sig.) / as la Rose, in the ballet of / Thea, ou La Fee aux Fleurs. Drawn and lithographed by J. Brandard; Published London, Fores, May 9, 1847;  $11 \times 15\frac{1}{4}$ h.; colored. See Beaumont No. 67, Illus.)

**104** — (Maddie. Carolina Rosati / of Her Majesty's Theatre; / in the Grand Ballet of / Fiorita. / Drawn by A. DeValentini; Published London, J. Mitchell, April 15, 1848; In sepia;  $13\frac{7}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{8}$ h. See Beaumont No. 66. Illus., CBB. p. 364.)

We know this lovely work only in a cruelly cut-down example, printed in sepia on a tinted ground. It is a noted work, often reproduced, sometimes in color, so such examples may be presumed to exist.

**SAINT ALBIN, Mr.**

**105** — Mr. St. Albin / of the T. R. Covent Garden & King's Theatre. / Drawn on Stone by G. A. Glover / R. Martin, Lithog. / London, Pub. July 15th, 1826, by W. Kenneth... / where likewise may be had portraits of the present and by-gone Actors and Actresses... at the London Theatres. — Vignette;  $7\frac{1}{3} \times 10$ h.; colored. (Plate XI)

**SAINT LEON, Arthur** — See 'Cerrito', 'Esmeralda', 'Pas des Deesses'.

**SPIRIT OF AIR, The** — See Series M.

**SAMENGO, Paolo** — See under Brugnoli, also, Series B.

**STEPHAN, Marie Guy**

**106** — Marie Guy Stephan (facs. sig.) / La Gracienne / Une Soiree de Carnaval, / Divertissement de Monsr. Perrot. / J. Bouvier, del. / Pub. T. McLean... Sept'r. 1842 — Hexagonal;  $11 \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ h., black and white on tinted ground; also, colored. (Beaumont No. 87, Illus.)

**107** — (The Celebrated Spanish Dance / Las Boleras de Cadiz. / Danced by Made. Guy Stephan. / At Her Majesty's Theatre. — Drawn by J. H. Lynch; Lithographed by C. G. Lynch; Published, London, William Spooner, March 12th, 1844; Octagonal;  $10\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$ h.; colored. See Beaumont No. 86, Illus.)

An uncolored example of this print is in the Harvard College Theatre Collection, but it is trimmed and damaged.

**STEPHAN, Mme. Petit** — See Series G.

**TAGLIONI, Marie**

**109** — Mademoiselle Taglioni / From a Drawing by A. E. Chalon, R.A. Drawn on Stone by R. J. Lane, A.R.A. / Printed by Hulmandel / London,

Pub. June 1831 by Dickinson... / Paris, par Chas. Motte... — Octagonal;  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{8}$ h.; in black on India paper; also exists on plain paper and colored. (Beaumont No. 2, Illus.)

Taglioni as Flora in 'Flore et Zephyre', revived for her in Paris 1829(?) - 30-31, and danced by her in London, 1830, etc.

**110** — Mademoiselle Taglioni / Designed & Drawn on Stone by B. Mulrenin. / Printed by C. Hulmandel / London, Pub. Sep'r. 1834 by Ackermann & Co... / and at Paris by Rittner & Goupil — Vignette;  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ h.; black, on oblong India paper,  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{4}$ h.

This little known work has a peculiar charm, recalling a sensitive observation of the time: 'And then her walk previous to a pas seul is elegant in the extreme'. (Times, May 9, 1837.)

**111** — La Sylphide / Marie Taglioni (facs. sig.) / A. E. Chalon R.A. / R. J. Lane A.R.A. / Printed by Graf & Soret / London, Pub. Jan'y. 1st, 1836, by J. Mitchell... Paris, chez Rittner & Goupil... — Vignette;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$ h.; in black, on India paper. (Beaumont No. 10.)

This really belongs to a Series, but as it is the only ballet print in the series, we list it here. It belongs to a portfolio, 'Recollections of the Italian Opera, 1835', with seven plates (a special lithographed title-page, five singers, and Taglioni), says the Colas Catalogue, all by the above artists, printers and publishers. The 'Super Royal' edition was issued at 2 Guineas and the 'Proof' sets at 3 Guineas. The portraits of the singers in this series have been much admired always, but this Taglioni study is something apart and the least successful of the Chalon-Lane prints of her.

Here is perhaps the place to remark the frequently recurring word 'Proof' formally printed on so many of these English items. We do not recall having met with it anywhere outside England. It was a compromise, a subterfuge, a convention, (as you will) by means of which publishers sought to get around the English print collector's prejudices on 'exclusivity'. As an art-print, the silly argument ran, lithographs (compared to engravings) were of no worth because such huge editions of any study could be issued! Hence, the custom arose of titling a certain number of first pulls as 'Proof' and marketing these at a premium. Later pulls might have been and often were just as fine. The practice was merely abusive and unreasonable, a piece of snobbery on the part of print fanciers. The French had another practice that does commend itself. Every now and again a fine example of a print is found stamped (not printed) 'Epreuve de Choix' (Choice Example). That makes sense. These 'Proof' works are, of course, to be distinguished from real 'proofs', i.e. test prints, as untitled pulls, and the like. A proof print is one thing; a print with 'Proof' as a part of its formal titling is merely an early and approved regular pull of a study.

**112** — La Bayadere — Portrait of Mademoiselle Taglioni / Drawn on Stone by R. J. Lane A.R.A.

from a Drawing by A. E. Chalon, R.A. / Printed by Graf & Soret / London, Pub. by Ackermann & Co....and at Paris by Rittner & Goupil. / Proof. — Oblong;  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{4}$ h.; in black on India paper; also colored. (Beaumont No. 1, Illus.)

This large, important, and fine print — said to have been Taglioni's favorite portrait of herself — is undated, a detail in itself contrary to English usage. The titling, both in wording, style of lettering, and also in arrangement, as well as the shape and measurements of the work, make it the double of the Elssler-LaVoliere study, q.v. The two prints are a pair, and the later of them was so designed, as with the Pas des Deesses. We suspect that the Taglioni is the later print, that it also was first issued in 1838, and that this handsome pair of ballet prints are Coronation Year souvenirs. Otherwise, we know of no Taglioni souvenir for that year, which seems in itself improbable.

In connection with this Bayadere study, it is not without interest in the history of dance, of the Romanic Ballet, and with memories of Shan-Kar still vivid, to cite two English souvenirs of a Hindu Troupe that delighted London and Western Europe in the 1830's: (A) THE BAYADERES, / In the Malapou or Delightful Dance / Drawn on Stone by Weld Taylor / J. Graf, Printer to Her Majesty / London, Pub. October 10th, 1838, by Thomas McLean... — Hexagonal;  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 17$ h.; in black, on India paper; (B) AMANY, SAUNDIROUNN, TILLE, RAMGOUN, & VEYDOUN / Dancing the Malapou. / Accompanied by the Bard Ramalingan, and Musicians Saravanin & Devenayagon. / Drawn from Life by H. Johnston, Esq're. / Lith'd by R. Hamerton / J. Graf, Printer to Her Majesty — No date or publisher; Oblong;  $14\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ h.; in black and white on tinted ground.

113 — Marie Taglioni (facs. sig.) / In the Dance of the Mazurka, in the ballet of / La Gitana. / Bouvier del. / Printed by W. Kohler... / London, Pub. by T. McLean... / 20th July, 1839 — Hexagonal;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ h.; Colored. (Beaumont No. 5.)

114 — Marie Taglioni (facs. sig.) / Bouvier, del. / Printed by W. Kohler... — Trimmed;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ h.; colored.

Mr. Beaumont signalized this print in his 1931 essay, but he does not mention it in his 1938 catalogue, selecting a German example by Blau of the same study. The German print is a richer work, but the English print is like a dozen other Bouviers. The German print is undated and we know this Bouvier study only in two examples, both with trimmed margins, so one guess is as good as another as to which is the original print and which the version. Harvard College Catalogue says 'A. J. Bouvier', but not the print itself. (See Beaumont N. 4, Illus.) This is another study of Taglioni in La Gitana.

115 — Mademoiselle Taglioni / (In the Ballet of La Gitana) / Dedicated by permission to Her Royal Highness The Princess Augusta of Cambridge /

by Her Royal Highness's obliged & devoted Servant / Emma Soyer. / Painted from Life by Madame Soyer / Drawn on Stone by R. J. Lane, A.R.A., Lith'r to Her Majesty / J. Graf, Printer to the Queen / London, Pub. Feb. 1840, by the Artist & J. Mitchell. — Hexagonal;  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ h.; black and white on tinted ground, touched up with opaque white; also exists in plain black, proof before titling; also, (Beaumont No. 6) colored.

116 — Marie Taglioni (facs. sig.) / La Gitana / Edwin D. Smith del. / Drawn on Stone by Weld Taylor / M. & N. Hanhart Lith Printers / London, Pub. June 2, 1840 by J. Watson. — Vignette;  $8 \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ h.; partly colored.

117 — Marie Taglioni (facs. sig.) and Signor Guerra (facs. sig.) / in the celebrated ballet / L'Ombre. / Bouvier, del. / London, Pub. by T. McLean... July 15th, 1840. — Hexagonal;  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ h.; black on tinted ground, colored; no printer given. (Beaumont No. 7, Illus.)

118 — Madlle. Taglioni as La Sylphide / in the / Mountain Sylph / Painted by G. Lepaulle / Engraved by J. W. Huffam / Printed by J. H. Hawkins — Oblong;  $9 \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ h.; Line and stipple, colored.

Good reduced version of French mezzotint. (Beaumont No. 18 identifies and illustrates the original print.)

119 — Marie Taglioni / as Sylphide / Lith. by Grevedon & Deveria after the original statue by Barre / Imp. de Lemercier, Benard & Cie. / Oblong;  $9\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ h.; colored; margins trimmed, no place or date of publication. Milan Catalogue says: London, pub. Ackerman & Co.

This print has already been discussed above under Elssler-Florinda studies. Mr. Beaumont recorded and illustrated it in his 1931 essay but does not mention it in his 1938 Catalogue. All the indications are that this is an English version of a famous French print by Deveria, here re-drawn on stone by the French artist, Henri Grevedon, but with many and significant differences. To discuss the study in detail would take too much space. It is, we think, to be dated 1844-45.

120 — Madlle. Taglioni & Sig. Paul Taglioni / Pas de deux; La Sylphide — Octagonal;  $4 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ h.; apparently, a bookplate.

121 — The / Pas de Deux / From "La Sylphide" — Vignette;  $6 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ h.; black. (Music title illustration, trimmed; no further text remains.)

The above two works are precisely the same studies. The costume, hair-do, etc., of Taglioni are precisely those of the 1836 Chalon study. The souvenirs are, accordingly, best dated 1836-37. There is a German version of this study titled 'Cerrito & Herr Care', and still another version labelled 'Elssler'. The original work would seem to have been English.

See also 'Pas de Quatre', 'Pas des Deesses', and Series H, I, J.

Before leaving these Taglioni prints we should, perhaps, remark that the Harvard College Cata-



logue list of Taglioni prints is a sadly mixed affair. Mrs. Arvila Hall magnificently discharged her monumental task, but ballet is a field on its own and the Taglioni iconography no small puzzle to straighten out. In 1938 Mr. Beaumont was able to improve on his 1931 listings, and we are all indebted to him for unraveling so much. As the pioneer in the field he did a valiant job, both on Taglioni and in general. It is easy enough to pick flaws in somebody else's work; the trouble is to avoid making just as many other errors on one's own!

**TAGLIONI, Marie II** (Paul's daughter)

**122** — (Marie Paul Taglioni (facs. sig.) in the Posnania, Danse Polonaise. / Drawn and on stone by J. Brandard; Pub. London, Fores, June 3, 1847; 10¾ x 15¾h.; colored. See Beaumont No. 94, Illus.)

**123** — (Marie Paul Taglioni / La Fee aux Fleurs / in the divertissement of / Thea. Drawn and on stone by Bouvier; London, T. McLean; Oblong, with curved top; 11 x 14¾h.; colored. See Beaumont No. 91, Illus.) We know this charming study only in a much trimmed example.

**THOMPSON, Lydia**

**124** — Miss Lydia Thompson / (On stone:) Th. Guerin — Trimmed; Vignette; 6¼ x 6½h.; black, partly colored.

The dancer is depicted as Satanelle (?); the print probably belongs to the 1850's and to London.

**VESTRIS, Mme. Ronzi** (de Begnis)

**125** — Madame Ronzi Vestris, / of the Italian Opera. / F. Waldeck pix't. / Cooper Sculp't. / Printed by E. Brain / London, Pub. April 1827 by W. McDowall... — Oblong; Line and Stipple, in box, 5¾ x 7¾ h. (Plate IV)

This print has been found especially interesting because of the pose of the arms. There is a verbal tradition that arms of this foreshortened character, academically nameless, were devised by Filippo Taglioni because of the long arms of his famous daughter. It is more likely that such poses have been both spontaneously and consciously used always as in the very nature of dance rhythm and design. The date of the print suggests that the Adonis and Fleur du Village (See 'Brocard') may be of the Vestrises.

**VINING, Mrs.**

**126** — Mrs. Vining in the Character of Peter Wilkins / "The Castanet Dance" / Act 1st, Scene 5th. / London, Pub. by Thos. McLean... 1827 — No further titling; Vignette; 4 x 7½h.; stipple engraving, colored. (Plate X)

**WEBSTER, Benjamin** — See 'Celeste'.

**WEBSTER, Clara**

**127** — Clara Vestris Webster (facs. sig.) / as / Nancy / in Lady Henrietta or The Statute Fair. / (On stone:) T. H. Maguire / Drawn on Stone from Life, by T. H. Maguire. / Litho. 70 St. Martin's Lane / London, Pub. Jan'y 10th, 1845 by

Thos McLean. — Octagonal; 9¾ x 14h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 95) (Plate XXVIII)

**128** — Clara Webster, / as Nancy, in the Ballet of / The Statute Fair / 5 / J. Brandard del. & lith. / M. & N. Hanhart lith. Printers / Pub. Jan'y. 14th, 1845 by Messrs. Fores, London. — Vignette on tinted ground; 6¾ x 8¾h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 96, Illus.)

Actually from a Series, but only the item '5' betrays the fact, so we list it here.

**129** — Miss Clara Webster / From a Sketch taken previous to her Death, and in the dress she wore on the evening of her melancholy and fatal accident. / The Drawing is considered by Mrs. Webster and her Son, a most striking likeness of their beloved and lamented relative. / Drawn & Engraved by G. A. Turner / Printed by H. Colvill / London, Pub. Jan'y. 31st 1845, by William Spooner... — Aquatint; Oblong; 11 x 13¾h.; colored. (Beaumont No. 97, Illus., The Connoisseur, 1937, June.)

**130** — Miss Clara Webster. / as / Zuleika, in the Revolt of the Harem. / At-Drury Lane Theatre. / Dec'r. 14th 1844. Being her Last Appearance. / G. Croker, Strand. — Oblong; 6½ x 8¾ h.; in black.

**131** — We have seen in London, but we did not note details, a further print of Clara Webster as Lady Henrietta in a long-skirted riding (?) habit, a study similar to the plate of Dumilatre in the same role found in the French *Nouvel Galerie Dramatique*.

See, also, Series C.

It should be remarked that all these prints of Clara Webster are posthumous souvenirs, though one of them at least was from a sketch made before her death and another claims to have been 'drawn from life', and that is quite possible. She had come into great prominence in London the Autumn before her death and souvenir prints were doubtless already in the making when tragedy struck her down.

**WIELAND, George**

**132** — Mr. Wieland / as / The Spirit Oberkin / in / the Romantic Burletta of / Die Hexen am Rhein / now performing at the / Theatre Royal Adelphi. / From Life & on Stone by J. W. Gear... / M. & N. Hanhart lith. printers / Pub. T. McLean — Vignette; in black, on octagonal shaped India paper; 9 x 11¾h.; signed on print in pencil: G. Wieland, 1841.

See, also, Series M.

## ALBUMS, PORTFOLIOS, and other SERIES

In Romantic times Portfolios, Albums, and Series of prints were popular and 'Galleries' of all sorts abounded. Sometimes these sets of prints were issued all at one time, in wrappers, as a portfolio, or bound, as an album. Sometimes they were issued individually but as parts of a whole—even though

each print was self sufficient, it was also one of a series of prints by the same artist or in the same format and of much the same character in subject, treatment, etc. Later, when the series was completed, the publisher often then also issued it in portfolio, album, or book form. Of these latter works, some series achieved completion; others ran a while and then were simply abandoned. Today, these prints are mostly come upon separately. It is now often impossible to say to how many prints most of them once ran. Nothing, perhaps, so strikingly and conclusively illustrates our present fragmentary knowledge of these old lithographs of the Romantic Ballet than an orderly exhibit of these portfolios and series, as far as we have been able to recognize them and to put them together once again. It has seemed best, therefore, not to break them up and to scatter them under their separate heads but to record each set en bloc. The result is humiliating and a challenge to collectors.

### SERIES A

**BRITISH THEATRICAL GALLERY:** A Collection of Whole Length Portraits with Biographical Notices, by D. Terry, Esq.; Pub. London, H. Berthoud, Jr., 1822, and (2nd Ed.) H. Berthoud, 1825 Demi-folio, 20 plates and notices, at 3/13/6 plain, 5/colored.

The two examples of this work in the Harvard College Theatrical Collection, one plain, one colored, contain 3 ballet prints — Hullin, LeBlond, and Noblet. However, this is to ignore a number of other prints, of the same type, artists, publisher, some engravings, some lithographs, all sometimes headed 'British Theatrical Gallery', sometimes not. We list what of these works we have come upon.

**133** — Monsr. Albert / (From) the Academy of Music, Paris; In the Character of Alcides: King's Theatre. / (On stone:) FW. / (F. Waldeck Lithog.) / Printed by Rowney & (Forster) / Pub. H. Berthoud, London, 1821 — Oblong; 5 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ h.; example trimmed.

**134** — Madlle. Fanny Bias / In the Ballet of Flore et Zephyr. King's Theatre. / (On stone:) FW. / F. Waldeck Lithog. / Printed by Rowney & Forster / Pub. by H. Berthoud, London, 1821 — Oblong; 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ h. (Plate III)

**135** — Madlle Hullin / In the Character of a Bacchante, in "Alcide". / King's Theatre / (On stone:) FW. / F. Waldeck Lithog. / Printed by Rowney & Forster / Pub. by H. Berthoud Jr., London, Nov. 21, 1821 — Oblong; 5 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ h.

**136** — King's Theatre: Mlle. Hullin: Haymarket / Drawn by F. Waldeck / Engraved by R. Cooper / Printed by McQueen & Co. / Pub. by H. Berthoud, Junr. July 3rd, 1822. — Line and stipple, in box, 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ h.

**137** — King's Theatre: Monsr. LeBlond: Haymarket / Drawn by F. Waldeck / Engraved by R. Cooper / Pub. by H. Berthoud, Jr., July 9th, 1822 — Oblong; line and stipple, in box, 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ h.

**138** — Mlle. Noblet / In the Ballet of La Paysanne Supposee / Painted by F. Waldeck / Engraved by R. Cooper / Pub. H. Berthoud Jun'r. March 14th, 1822. — Oblong; line and stipple, in box, 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ h. (Illus. Five Cent.)

No. 134 is puzzling as a ballet item only because it is clearly a study of a dancer sur les pointes some years before les pointes as an academic practice are allowed to have come in! The problem is more a rumor than a reality. Mr. Beaumont regards the 1831 Taglioni-Flore (No. 109) as 'one of the earliest, if not the earliest, prints of a dancer raised sur la pointe, a mode of progression which is presumed to have been invented in the 'twenties — most probably by Taglioni,' etc. Until the source materials are more extensively researched and exhibited, any claim of that nature belongs to the Nietzschean realm of '*fable convenue* or worse'. The documents, it will be found, do not sustain it; on the contrary, they are not simply non-committal — they deny it. Two Viennese lithographs of circa 1824 of Brugnoli — one, in Psyche; the other, in Die Fee und der Ritter — are perfect illustrations of les pointes. The Stuttgart Erinnerung of 1826 also offers a number of instances, one of which, though of Taglioni, is obviously a version of the second Vienna item named above. Taglioni was famous for her ballon, her elevation, the breadth and floating quality of her movement. Of course her pointes were technically perfect, but we do not remember a single writing of her day that ever stressed this. It would seem improbable that Taglioni had anything particular to do even with the introduction, let alone the invention, of pointes. As a special feature or characteristic of a dancer, do not les pointes belong to another line, to terre-à-terre dancers, to Bias, Brugnoli, Vaque-Moulin, Ellsler, Fuoco, Ferraris? As regards toe-dancing, iconographically, the Bias print advances the date a decade.

### SERIES B

**SKETCHES IN THE KING'S THEATRE.** This set of charming lithographs carries the following title at-top of each print: Sketches in the King's Theatre No.... A perfect example would doubtless have its proper titled wrapper. To date we know only 5 prints and have no idea how many more a full set would show. The prints are all in black on India paper.

**139** — (No. 1) Sigr. Samingo and Mad. Brugnoli, / In the Grand Ballet / L'Anneau Magique. / Levasseur del. / Printed by Meifred Lemerrier & Co.... / London, Pub. by A. Ackermann... May, 1832. — Vignette; 6 x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ h.; in black on India paper. (Illus. Five Cent.)

**140** — (No. 2) Sigr. Samingo and Made. Brugnoli, / In the Grand Ballad / L'Anneau Magique. / Levasseur del. / Printed by Meifred Lemerrier & Co.... / London, Pub. by R. Ackermann... May 1832. — Vignette; 7 x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. (Illus. Five Cent.)

**141** — (No. 3) Monsr. Albert and Mlle. Heberle /



In the *Divertissement of Daphnis et Cephise*. / Levasseur del. / Printed by Meifred, Lemercier & Co.... / London, Pub. R. Ackermann... May, 1832. — Vignette; 7 x 7¼h. (Illus. Five Cent.)

**142** — (No. ?) Sigr. Samingo and Madme. Brug-noli. / In the *Divertissement of / Une Heure a Naples*. / Levasseur del. — Vignette; 6½ x 8 h. Trimmed. Interestingly posed study. (Plate V)

**143** — (No. ?) — Sigr. Samingo and Made. Brug-noli. / In the *Divertissement of / Massaniello* / Levasseur del. / Printed by Maguire, Lemercier & Co.... — Vignette; 6 x 7½h.; trimmed.

### SERIES C

**THE STAR OF THE BALLET** — Here is a series of which we know that there are at the least 11 plates. Of these we have definitely found four and strongly suspect a fifth. That leaves six to go — or more, if 11 does not exhaust the count. The series now stands thus: (1) Pauline Leroux, (2?, 3?) (4) Clara Webster, (5?, 6?, 7?) (8) Carlotta Grisi (9?, 10?) (11) Fanny Cerrito; one item in doubt, Fanny Ellsler. Each print is captioned: The Star of the Ballet / No..., and as follows:

**144** — (No. 1) Pauline Leroux — *Pas de Fascination* / Lacour del. & lith. / London, Pub. Dec'r 4th 1843, at Edwards Foreign Repository... — Oblong; 6¾ x 8¾h.; colored. (Plate XXV)

**145** — (No. 4) Clara Webster — *Beauty of Ghent*. / L'Enfant del et lith. / London, Pub at Edwards Foreign Repository... — Oblong; 6⅝ x 8¾h.; colored.

**146** — (No. 8) Carlotta Grisi — *La Esmeralda* / Printed by W. Kohler / London, William Follit Pub'r., City Repository of Arts — Oblong; 6⅝ x 8¾h.; colored.

**147** — (No. 11) (This we know only from an example preserved in Milan and recorded in the Arrigoni-Bertarelli Catalogue, *Ritratti di Musicisti*, etc., as follows: Madlle. Cerrito. *Minuet de la Cour*. London, William Follit. Series: The Star of the Ballet, N. 11. Full-length figure in costume, dancing. Lithograph, colored, 288 x 167mm wide., i.e. 11¼ x 6⅝ wide, *but* this Milan Catalogue habitually includes the titling of a print in its measurements, while we record only the box of the picture per se, hence the discrepancy in height.)

**148** — (No. ?) (In a 1940 volume, 'Fanny Ellsler', by Emil Pirchan, published in Vienna, a study of Fanny as the Cavalier in the *Minuet de la Cour* is illustrated and identified as by Francois L. Lanfant, Paris. L'Enfant also worked in London — just when Cerrito and Ellsler were a sensation there in that number. Pirchan's iconographic details are pocked with errors. The chances are that that work is the companion piece to the Cerrito No. 11 immediately above.)

From the four (or five) known prints of this set, the series would appear to have been issued 1843-44, apparently by two publishers.

### SERIES D

Di Rhona actually falls outside our date line. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that a collection of eight Selected Engraved Portraits for an Album (really, a small portfolio) of the Celebrated Serbian Danseuse-Soubrette Mlle. Albina di Rhona was published in London in 1861. Each is a tiny steel engraving circa 2 x 5½h., labelled 'Albina Di Rhona / I. H. Baker sc.', on a sheet circa 6¼ x 9h. The dancer is shown in static poses in eight different costumes. The plates were obviously executed from photographs. However, here is the last glimmer of what began precisely forty years before with the British Theatrical Gallery of 1821. (Nos. 149-156)

### SERIES E

**FAIR FAVORITES**. Of this series we have come across four out of five numbered items (2-3-4-5) known to us, but there may be more. No. 1 we have not identified; 2-3-4 are of actresses (Mme. Vestris, Miss Taylor, and Mrs. Honey, respectively). But No. 5 is a ballet print.

**157** — Madlle. Duvernay as Florinda, / in the / "Devil on Two Sticks." / Madeley, Litho. / London, Lithographed, Printed & Publd. by G. E. Madeley... / Proof / (No. 5 Fair Favorites) — Oblong; 6⅞ x 9¼h.; in black on India paper. This would appear to be the stone edited in the Beaumont Catalogue under No. 44.

### SERIES F

**158** — **OPERA SKETCHES** / No. 1 / Fanny Ellsler — *La Saragoza* / G. Croker & Co. — Oblong; Vignette in double rule, 5⅞ x 7¼h.; colored.

### SERIES G

**THE FAVORITES OF THE BALLET** — A series thus captioned and numbered seriatim just under the caption, possesses at least eight items.

**159** — (No. 1) Madlle. Fanny Ellsler — *The Cachucha* / William C. Steer del. & lith. — Octagonal; 6¾ x 9½h.; colored.

**160** — (No. 7) Madlle Fanny Ellsler — *The Carcovenne* / C. G. & J. H. Lynch del. / London, Pub. William Spooner... March 1st, 1844 — Octagonal; 6¾ x 9½h.; colored.

**161** — (No. 8) Madlle. Fleury — *Beauty of Ghent*. *Pas de Diane* / C. G. & J. H. Lynch, Lith. / London, Pub. by William Spooner... March 18th 1844. — Octagonal; 7 x 10¾h.; colored.

**162** — (No. ?) Madlle. Petit-Stephan — *The Devil in Love* / C. G. del. J. H. Lynch, Lith. / London, Pub. Wm. Spooner... Jan. 20th, 1844. — Oblong; 6¾ x 9½h.; in black. (with series title, but no number.)

### SERIES H

**163-168** — **SIX SKETCHES / OF / MADEMOISELLE TAGLIONI** / in the Characters in which she has appeared during the present Season / Drawn from the Life by / A. E. Chalon, R.A. /

Drawn on Stone by / R. J. Lane, A.R.A. / London / Published August, 1831, by J. Dickinson, New Bond Street. / Printed by C. Hullmandel.

Thus reads the original brown wrapper of this famous set that honored Taglioni at the opening of her long London career. Within are six plates, to be described, plus six other pages of the same size (11 x 15h.) each carrying a poem by F. W. N. Bayley, titled the same as its accompanying print. Note: the *poem*, La Napolitaine is numbered 5 but goes with Plate 3, while La Nayade, numbered 3, goes with Plate 5.

How difficult these ephemera sometimes are to get together. By chance, we found the wrappers and the six poems to our set in a junk shop in a London alley before we had obtained a single one of these prints. To complete a full set of the six prints to accompany that find, each uncolored, as originally issued, and with full margins, took us five years! The last two prints we found at The Hague in 1939, just on the eve of the war. Yet the reward was worth the patience and trouble, for these small early studies of Taglioni by her most sensitive and devoted artist, Chalon, put on stone by the prince of English portrait-lithographers, R. J. Lane, are the best of all exhibits of the pre-Sylphide Taglioni who first captivated Paris and London.

Each study is a vignette printed on an oblong sheet of India paper,  $5\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}h.$ , initialed in the left and right lower corners respectively, A.E.C. — R.J.L. On each margin stands: Printed by C. Hullmandel — Published by J. Dickinson. Here is the rest of the titling:

Plate 1 — Flore — Augt. 1831

Plate 2 — La Tirolienne — Augt. 1831

Plate 3 — La Napolitaine — Sepr. 1831

Plate 4 — La Bayadere — Augt. 1831

Plate 5 — La Naiade — Sepr. 1831

Plate 6 — Marie Taglioni (facs. sig.) — Sepr. 1831.

### SERIES I

**169-176 — FLORE et ZEPHYR** / Ballet Mythologique / dedie a / (a vignette of a posey, smirking, ageing danseuse) / par Theophile Wagstaff (facs. sig.) / London, Published March 1st 1836 by J. Mitchell... / a Paris chez Rittner & Goupil... / Printed by Graf & Soret — Vignette:  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}h.$ ; initialed TW and signed: E. Morton lith. Then follow 8 unnumbered prints as below (the order our own). Each is initialed TW on the stone. Just below on the margin stands: Theophile Wagstaff — Edward Morton; also, printer, publishers, and date, as on the title-page, plus:

- (1) Jeux innocens de Zephyr et Flore ( $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}h.$ )
- (2) Triste et abattu, les seductions des nymphes le tentent en vain. (6 x 8h.)
- (3) Dans un pas-seul il exprime son extreme desespoir ( $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}h.$ )
- (4) Flore deplore l'absence de Zephyr ( $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}h.$ )
- (5) Reconciliation de Flore & Zephyr. (6 x  $7\frac{3}{4}h.$ )

(6) La Danse fait ses offrandes sur l'autel de l'harmonie. ( $6\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{8}h.$ )

(7) La retraite de Flore ( $6\frac{1}{2} \times 6h.$ )

(8) Les delassements de Zephyr. (7 x 6h.)

Oblong, on India paper, in black, with high-lights in Opaque (Chinese) white, with occasional touches of color — cheeks, lips, headdress. The original wrapper we have never seen. This set is a famous ballet souvenir and an even more famous piece of Thackerayana. Mr. C. Van Noorden has devoted an article to it, 'Thackeray and the Ballet' in the London 'Dancing Times', May, 1923, with good illustrations of all nine prints. 'In March, 1836,' he says, 'appeared this first and rarest of his (Thackeray's) separately published works, "Flore et Zephyr", now exceedingly scarce, and bringing some £200 at auction... These plates may be considered as the most forceful Thackeray ever drew. He was evidently influenced by Honore Daumier.' The studies are a vixenous, not to say cruel, yet hilarious travesty of the great Taglioni as already passee and of Perrot in Didelot's renowned but then creaking classic.

### SERIES J

**177-182 — LA SYLPHIDE:** Souvenir d'Adieu.

This is a portfolio of six prints plus a lithographed title-plate, issued in brown wrappers, also titled. The title-plate was for collectors who might desire to bind the set into an album, discarding the wrappers; it may even be that bound sets were also sold, but our own set, handsomely bound in red morocco and watered silk, was done by an Edinborough binder. The title-plate, like each of the prints, is octagonal, and measures  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{3}{4}h.$  It has a tinted ground with the lettering in white with shaded lines, and reads as follows:

LA SYLPHIDE / Souvenir d'Adieu / de / Marie Taglioni / par / A. E. Chalon R.A. / Artistes Lithographes / R. J. Lane A.R.A. / Edward Morton, / J. S. Templeton, / J. H. Lynch, / T. H. Maguire, / Londres, Sept'r. 15, 1845, Publie par J. Mitchell Libraire de Sa Majeste. / 33 Old Bond Street. / A Paris chez Goupil et Vibert Boulevard Montmartre. Depose. / Imprime par M. & N. Hanhart. The Beaumont Catalogue, q.v., records the titling on the wrappers, which differs in slight details from the above. (Beaumont, Nos 11 to 16, with Illustrations of all six studies.)

It would appear that three 'editions' of this work were issued: (a) a few 'Proof' sets, on India paper (the set here edited in detail); (b) ordinary India paper sets, and (c) sets on plain paper. The India paper sets were surely issued uncolored, though examples later colored are come upon. The plain paper sets may well have been marketed both colored and uncolored. The octagonal line-box on the plain examples mesures circa  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{3}{4}h.$  That on the India paper prints as given below.

The names of the original artist and of the artist-lithographer are found only on the prints (pictures) proper, inside the line-box, on the angle of the mitered corners at the bottom, Chalon to the left,



lithographer to the right. The bottom margins carry the name of the printer, the India paper as 'Lith. Printers', the plain as 'Lith. Imp.'; also, the names of the two publishers. These plates have no individual titles, each is merely numbered: clearly, the prints were originally marketed only in sets. It should further be noted that while Sept. 15th was the official publishing date, all the pictorial prints of all types that we have seen are dated Sept. 8th, a week earlier. Here are the individual titlings and measurements, print by print:

1 — A. E. Chalon R.A. — R. J. Lane A.R.A. (10¾ x 16h.); 2 — A. E. Chalon R.A. — J. S. Templeton (10¾ x 16h.); 3 — A. E. Chalon R.A. — Edward Morton (11 x 16¼h.); 4 — A. E. Chalon R.A. — J. H. Lynch (10¾ x 16h.); 5 — A. E. Chalon R.A. — T. H. Maguire (10¾ x 16h.); 6 — A. E. Chalon R.A. — R. J. Lane A.R.A. (10¾ x 16h.)

This portfolio is the most ambitious, the most famous, and as a unit the most beautiful lithographic souvenir of the Romantic Ballet. Chalon's exquisite studies were as exquisitely translated to the stone by five of England's master portrait-lithographers. It is an unsurpassed Romantic theatre souvenir. As a single study, the *Pas de Quatre* stands in the forefront of these English works; but the *Souvenir d'Adieu* must be regarded as a unit each item of which is a perfection after its manner and the whole a triumph. Never was any dancer in history accorded such a Farewell, such an Apotheosis, as London tendered Taglioni in 1845.

Mr. Beaumont is of the opinion that Chalon made these studies over a period of years and that 'the slender nymph' of No. 2 and the 'mature woman' of No. 1, were executed by him years apart. On the more solid ground of costume considerations, etc., this seems impossible. Taglioni's 1832 and 1835 and 1837 Sylphide costumes are known from works of those years. Each differs to a degree and, in details, radically. None of those is the costume seen here. In 1840 and in 1841 she did not, we believe, dance *La Sylphide* in London; 1842 to 1844 she did not visit London. This *Souvenir* costume is earliest encountered in the 1844 volume, '*Les Beautés de l'Opéra*', in a French print, and represents undoubtedly the costume in which she bid Paris Farewell that year. It was this costume that she brought to London the next year, when *La Sylphide* was revived at Her Majesty's for her London Farewell — and for this *Souvenir*. Everything points to all six sketches having been made that season and everything is against any of them having been made earlier, unless Chalon went to Paris for Taglioni's farewell appearances there. At most they all fall within one year. No English prints that we know are reminiscent of the past: all capitalized on the vogue of the moment. Further, it must never be lost to sight that Chalon was not a photographer but a free-hand artist; his hand could and did vary. But more important still, another hand is between us and each of his studies — that of the artist lithographer;

here, of five artist-lithographers. THREE artists executed Prints 1 and 2 in this series — Chalon-Lane and Chalon-Templeton. This entirely and much more simply explains why Taglioni looks older in one and younger in another, thinner in one and heavier in another. Nevertheless, the costume consideration remains paramount and points decisively to the mid-1840's. This is, then, not any *Souvenir de Reminiscence* but *d'Adieu* and recorded for all time Taglioni as London saw her, her real Farewell Season there, 1845.

### SERIES K

**183-190 — THE PET OF THE BALLET.** Such is the title of a series of eight prints (there may be more), all otherwise anonymous, all spoofing in spirit, dedicated to entirely incidental dancers — coryphees and figurantes. Charles Hervey wrote, in 1846: 'Those who wait for the last scene of a fairy ballet will generally perceive Mlle. Aline waving a wand at the back of the stage, attired in the pink and silver tunic usually adopted by virtuous genii.' Here are as many Milles. Aline — front, side, and rear view. The set was a forerunner of many works destined to be devoted to '*les danseuses pres de l'eau*', to '*les rats de l'Opéra*'. The expression itself, however, *The Pet of the Ballet*, was no fiction of the publisher. The *Adephi* advertised 'a flight of sylphides by the pets of the ballet'. At the Strand and the Lyceum, in the 1840's, was seen an 'operatic choreographic burlesque Sketch' called '*The Pet of the Ballet*'. Who knows? there may be no fantasy here at all but just what is characteristic of all other English ballet prints of these decades known to us — a factual record of things seen and, in their generation, immediately identifiable, for all their textual anonymity. Here is an echo of a Ziegfieldian glorification of the ballerine that swept London theatredom in the 1840's.

These prints are all hand colored and measure circa 6¾ x 9h. For the rest, the following data must suffice.

- No. 1 — Jan. 14, 1843 (Front view.)
- No. 2 — Jan. 14, 1843 (Back view of No. 1.)
- No. 3 — Oct. 23, 1843 (Spanish dance, castanets)  
R. Gallon pinxt et lith. Day & Haghe,  
printers.
- No. 4 — Nov. 13, 1843 (Inscribed as for No. 3.  
See Plate XXVI.)
- No. 5 — Jan. 25, 1844 (Inscribed as for No. 3)  
(Front.)
- No. 6 — Jan. 25, 1844 (Inscribed as for No. 3)  
(Back.)
- No. 7 — Feb. 14, 1844 (On clouds, with wand.)
- No. 8 — Feb. 14, 1844 (Floating in sky; wings.)

### SERIES L

**191 — Ballet par Perrot : Eoline ou la Dryade:**  
Music par Pagni (across top margin) / (On bottom margin:) No. 1, *L'Invitation* / the celebrated "*Mazurka d'Exstase*" danced by Monsr. Perrot & Madlle. Lucile Grahn, / at / Her Majesty's Theatre / J. Brandard del. & lith. / M. & N. Hanhart,

Chromo Lith. / London, Pub. April 10th, 1845, by Jullien... & at Milan, by Signor Lucca. / (On stone: J. Brandard.)

192 — (Top line as above.) / (On bottom margin:) No. 4, L'Exstase / the celebrated "Mazurka d'Exstase" danced by / (the rest precisely as above).

The vignettes of the above souvenirs measure (1)  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ h., and (2)  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ h. Both are enclosed in a gilt-line box,  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 10$ h., with titling on top and bottom margins. They are printed in colors, the only English instances that we have seen — but this singularity is easily explained. Both were also (originally?) designed for music-title illustrations and were so used (see Beaumont, Nos. 115-116, illus.)

This practice of using the same stones both for souvenir easel-prints and for music-title illustrations was then a London commonplace. Many instances are encountered. But only *music-title* illustrations printed in colors are to be found in English easel-prints *printed* in colors. We know no exception. This was doubtless where America got its idea for separate music 'Frontpieces'. (See Dance Index, Dec., 1942.)

How many items were issued in this set? How many such sets were brought out? Here is a field that suggests a whole gallery of easel-prints not earlier signalized for London. We know of more than a dozen English music-title illustrations also issued in easel-print form. In this lies, perhaps, an explanation of the elegance and unusual size of many English music-title illustrations of ballet — and of opera — in the Romantic decades.

In this connection we would mention item No. 104 in Mr. Beaumont's Catalogue, another music-title illustration that we know only as an easel-print. Both are titled simply 'Le Diable a Quatre'. On what grounds Mr. Beaumont identifies the dancers as Grisi and Petipa, we do not know. For London, Flora Fabbri and Bretin, Melanie Duval and Adrien or Ballin and Adrien or even Ballin and Gilbert, would seem to us more reasonable suppositions. We are both supposing, because the work itself does not say. Grisi was at Drury Lane in June, 1846, but Le Diable a Quatre vogue in London belongs to the Autumn of 1845. We doubt that Jullien waited so long (8 months) to bring out the music and we also doubt that he would have presumed to ignore the London creators of this work.

### SERIES M

193-205 — BEAUTIES OF THE BALLET. Such is the heading (Beauties of the Ballet No....) of a lengthy series of music-title illustrations. We know that it ran to 18 numbers, but to how many more, we cannot say. Here is the list as far as we have been able to reconstitute it:

- (No. 1) Duvernay — Cachoucha & Valse Sentimentale
- (No. 2) (Taglioni?) — Shawl Dance & Valse Lombardienne

- (No. 3) (?) — Pas de Deux & Sylvia Waltz
- (No. 4) (?) — Pas Styrien
- (No. 5) (?) — Bohemian Dance
- (No. 6) (Celeste?) — Greek Romaika
- (No. 7) Hermione Ellsler & Proche-Giubilei — New Polski Mazurka & Court Beauty Waltz
- (No. 8) (Pas des Lyres?) — Overture to The Spirit of Air
- (No. 9) (Master & Miss Marshall?) — (?)
- (No. 10) Proche-Giubilei & Mr. Gilbert — Characteristic Dance
- (No. 11) (Pas de Sabots: Spirit of Air?) — Pas de Sabots
- (No. 12) Hermione Ellsler & Mr. Gilbert — Grand Pas de Deux
- (No. 13) Mme. Taglioni — La Mazurka (from) La Gitana
- (No. 15) (Grisi?) — Krakowiak (Beniowsky)

From what we now know of this set, we find it most interesting, both for its variety and its impartiality. It is a cross-section of ballet and its vogue in London as a whole in the late 1830's and early 1840's, or does it run as late as the 1840's? It should be researched and reported in full. The title of the series was placed at the extreme top of the page; accordingly, it has frequently been lost, not merely when music-titles were cut down to their pictures but even, as was then so widely practiced, the loose sheet music was bound into volumes.

The lithograph for No. 12 above measures  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ h. We do not, however, propose to edit in detail all the prints of this work. It is sufficient here to signalize what we know of the series. All that we have seen are anonymous studies and all are vignettes. Mr. Beaumont has edited Nos. 13 and 15 (Beaumont No. 99 and No. 107, with the last illustrated.) No. 15 is undoubtedly by Brandard; perhaps they all are.

Our present monograph reproduces five of these studies — and no apologies needed! There is the cover design of the amazing Wieland 'in action'; Plate No. XIV reproduces the 'Pas des Lyres'; Plate No. XVI, Master & Miss M. A. Marshall; Plate No. XVII Proche-Giubilei & Gilbert; Plate No. XIII Hermine Ellsler & Gilbert.

We take it that the stunning study that forms the cover design for this monograph belongs to this series, but we cannot say for sure. Here is the text as we have it, but the top of the sheet has been cut in binding.

2 Set of / Quadrilles, / (lithograph) / Scene from the Ballet — The North Wind dispersing the Sylphs / From the popular Ballet / The Spirit of Air / Performed with unprecedented success, at the / Theatre Royal Drury Lane, / Composed by E. Eliason. / Printed by M. & N. Hanhart... / London, Jeffreys & Co... / Sole Publishers of / Beauties of the Ballet — Nos. 1 to 18 / Including all the Popular Dances in this highly successful Ballet. — in black;  $8 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ h. (Cover Design)



# Tables of Dancers and Ballets

## KEY

### Period Surveyed: 1821 to 1858.

Century omitted, 30 means 1830, etc., ; 30-33, means just those two years; 30 to 33 means inclusive. Unbracketed numbers, as 30, are used for Italian Opera dancers; bracketed, as (30), means *Royal* Italian Opera dancers.

For English Boards: DL is Drury Lane; CG, Covent Garden; H, Haymarket; E, English Opera House; P, Princess's; A, Adelphi; SJ, St. James's (Theatres).

Under 'Ballets': 'Daughter of the Danube — DL — F. Taglioni: Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1837 — (CBB),' means that ballet, produced Drury Lane; original choreographer, F. Taglioni; DL choreographer, Gilbert; Ballin in chief role; first danced there, 1837; for synopsis, etc., of original production, see Beaumont's Complete Book of Ballets.

For the two Italian Opera Houses our lists are practically exhaustive, Grand Pas of course not included. For the English stage, both lists are incomplete, but thoroughly representative. However, even Part II of our study remarks various dancers and ballets not listed here.

It may interest some readers that, to compile this data and for our essay, we have consulted more than 12,000 newspapers of the time, many more thousands of playbills and programs, not to mention other sources. The information was not to be had at less cost.

## THE FEATURED DANCERS ITALIAN OPERA HOUSE(S)

### Mesdames

ADELE, 30-33-34-35; AIMEE, 23-42; ALBERTINE, 40; ALLEGRI, 51-52; ANATOLE (nee Gosselin), 22-23-24-28; ANCELLIN, 32; ANGE-MENT, 36; ANGELICA, 27-28; ARNAL, (47); ASTORI, (54); ATHALIE, 30; AUMER-LeBlond, Julie, 24-25-26; AURELIE, 23; AURIOL-Flexmore, Francesca, (47); AUSSANDON, Esther, 48 to 51.

BADERNA, Marietta, (47); BALLIN-Gilbert, (50-51); BARVILLE, 44-(53); BATTALINI, (54-55-57-58); BAUCOURT, 47; BEALE, 51; BEAUPRE, Zoe, 31; BELLON, Eliza Albert, 28-38-39-40-56; BELOTTI, Helene & Louise, (52); BERNARD (Benart), Adele, 42-43; BERTIN, Josephine, 37-47; BERTRAND, 22-25; BERTUZZI, 41; BESSON, Matilde, 51-(53); BETTONI, Maria Luigia, 56; BIAS, Fanny, 21; BIOLETTI, 58; BOSCHETTI, Amina, 56-57-58; BOUGLEUX, Alexandrine, 24 to 29; BOURGOIN, 35; BOUVIER, 42; BRIESTOFF, 39-40; BROCARD, 26-27-28-30-31; BROWN, F., 58; BRUGNOLI-Samengo, Amalia, 32; BRUNETTI, 57; BRUSSI, Leopoldine, (48-52-54); BURON, 27.

CAMARA, La Petra, 51; CAMILLE, C., 42-43-(48); CAMILLE II, 42; CARRE, 39; CASSON,

45-46; CAVA, 33; CERRITO, Fanny, 40 to 48-51-(55-56-57); CHAVIGNY, 33 to 36; CHAVRIER, 40; CHEVALLIER, Zara, 43; CHRISTINE, (57); CLARA, 30-31-35-56; CLEMENT, 41; COMBA, (56); COPERE, 26 to 43; CORTESI, 33; COURDLER, 42;

D'ANTONIE (D'ANTOINE), 51-(53); DELATRE, 24-26; DELECHAUX, (47-57-58-59); DEMELISSE, Octavie, 45-46-(47); DeVARNES, Julie, 21-22-23-30; DEVIS, 31; DORSAY, Aline, 36-37; DUCY-Barre, 43; DUMILATRE, Adele, 43-(47); DUPUIS, Mimi, 28; DUVAL, Melanie, 35-(47); DUVERNAY, Pauline, 34-37.

ELISE, (57); ELIZA, 51; ELSSLER, Fanny, 33-34-38-39-40-43-44-(47); Hermine, 37-39; Therese, 33-34-38-39; EMAROT, Celestine, 41; EMMA, 51-(55-56); ESPER, 51-52-(53 to 59).

FABRI-Bretin, Flora, (48); FALCOZ, 23; FARCY, Clotilde, 20-21; FERDINAND, 44-45; FERRANTE, Elisabetta, (48); FERRARIS, Amalia, 50-51; FILIPPINI, Carolina, 36; FINART, 32; FITZJAMES, Nathalie, 38; FLEUROT, 26-27; FLEURY, Louise, 42-(47)-52; FORLI, Regina, 52; FORSTER, C., 38; FOURCISY, 32; FRASSI, Adelaide, 44; FUOCO, Sofia, (47).

GALBY, Clara, 42-43-56; GAUTHIER, 37; GENAT, (56); GENEVAUX, 26; GOSSE, 20-21; GOSSELIN, 23; GRAHN, Lucile, 45-46-47-(48); GRISI, Carlotta, 36-42-44-45-47 to 51; GUERPONT, 33; GUERRA, 39-40; GUET, Rosalie, 26; GUICHARD, Pauline, 32.

HEBERLE, Teresa, 32-37(?); HILARIOT, 57; HONORE, 46-47-(48); HULLIN, Josephine, 20-21-31-32.

IDALISE (Grener), 21-24.

JAMES, 46; JULIEN(NE), 46 to 51.

KANIEL, 31; KARLSKI, Isabella, 57; KATRINE (Katinka), 56-57; KEPPLER, Constance, 34-36-40-41; KOHLENBERG, 51-(52-53).

LACOMBE, 21; LAMOUREUX, Louise, 46 to 52; LANGHER, (48); LARCHE, Leontine, 33; LAVINIA, 51; LeBLOND, (52-55-57); LE-COMTE (nee Martin), 28-32; LEFEBVRE, 20-21; LEGROS, 24-25; LEILAIRE, 28; LEROUX, Pauline, 24-26-29-33-(49); LEVALLOIS, (47); LEVASSEUR, 26-28; LIGNE, 41; LISEREUX, 56; LOUISA, 28; LUMELLI, 33.

MAILLET, 30; MARIA, 42-(48); MARIMENT, 41; MARMET, Melina, (53); MARRA, 47; MAZZA, 36; MEJANEL, 21; MELANIE, 21; MENGIN, 21; MERANTE, 27; MERCANDOTTI, Maria, 22-23; MERSIE, Julie, 29-30; MICHELET, (Zelie?), 57; MONCELET, 45-46; MONFORT, Elise, 47; MONROY, Anna, (47); MONTESSU (nee Paul), 31-33-37; MONTI, 51; MORLACCHI, Giuseppina, 57-58; MOULIN, Manette, 24.

NARCISSE, 21; NEHR, Eliza, (54); NEODOT, (47); NOBLET, Lise, 21-22-24.

O'BRYAN (Obrien), A., 20-27-28-32-41-(48); OLIVA, Pepita de, 52; OLIVIER, Eleanore, 27-29; ORSINI, Annetta, 58;

PALLERINI, Antonietta, 33; PAREDA, Rita, (47); PASCALES, Emily, 47-50-51; Fanny, 47-49-50-52; Jenny, 51; Lucile, 51; PASQUALE, Carolina, 56-57-58; PEAN, 29; PERCEVAL, 22-27; PEREA, Manuela (la Nena), 45-57; PEREZ, 29-30; PETIT, 29-39; PIERRON, 56; PIERSON, Zelie (?), 39-40-41; PLUNKETT (Planquet), Adeline 43-44-(47-53-57); POCCHINI-Ranieri, Carolina, 57-58; PRINCIPRE, 32; PROCHE-Giubilei, Augustine, 31 to 34-38-39-42; PUECH, 29.

QUENIAUX, (54).

RICHARD-Merante, Zina, (58-59); RINALDI, 29; ROBERT, Elisabeth, (48-52); ROLAND, 22; ROLLA, Teresa, 57; ROSA, 50-51-52-56-58; ROSATI (nee Galletti), Carolina, 47-48-49-51-52-56-57-58; ROSSI, 41; Les ROUSSETS, 41.

SAINT-ROMAIN, Angelica, 33-36; SALVIONI, Eliza, 57; SCHEFFER, 43-44; SINTI (Santi), 41-(53-54); SOLDANSKY, 51; SOTO, 51; SPANISH Troupes, 34-51; SPITALIER, 22-24; STEPHAN, Celeste, (47-48); Marie Guy—, 41 to 44-52; Petit—, 46-47-49-50-51.

TAGLIONI, Marie, 30-31-33-34-35-38 to 41-45-46-47; Marie II (Paul's daughter; La Taglioni's niece), 47 to 51-56-57-58; TAGLIONI-Fuschs, Louise, (daughter of Salvatore Taglioni and his wife, Taglioni-Peraud, niece of Filippo, cousin of Marie and Paul), 46-(49 to 52); TEDESCHI, 51; THEVENOT, 46 to 49; THIERRY, (48); THOMASINI, 49; THOMPSON, Lydia, 52; TOUS-SAINTE, 21.

VAQUE-MOULIN, Elise, 29; VARIN, 32-35-36; VESTRIS (nee de Begnis), Ronzi, 22-23-24; VIENNESE Children, 45; VIGANONI, 41; VOLET, 20-21-22;

WAUTHIER (Vuthier), 47-(48-49).

YELLA, (53).

ZELIA (Michelet?), (58).

#### *Messieurs*

ALBERT (Decombes), Ferdinand, 21-22-24-28-32-33-37; Auguste (Fils or Jr., son of Ferdinand), 32-33-37-41; ANATOLE (Petit?), 22-23-28; APPIANI, 35-(48); AUMER, Jean, 23-24-25.

BARATTI, Filippo, (57); BARNETT, Benjamin, 23; BARRE, 22; BARREZ, 40-41; BERTRAM, 37-42-44; BERTRAND (same person as Bertram?), 24-43-45-46; BLASIS, Carlo, 27-(47); BOISGIRARD, 20 to 28; BOURNONVILLE, 28; BRETIN, Luigi, 32-40-(48); BRISSAC, 22; BUZZIO, Pietro, 57.

CALDI, (53); CAREY, Edouard, 31; CARON, 58; CASATI, 47-(48-49-50); CECCHETTI, Cesare, 57; CHARLES, 49-50-51-56-57; CORALLI (Fils), Eugene, 38; CORTESI, 33; COULON (Fils or Jr.), 21-23-26-29-30-33-35 to 44; COUSTOU, 36-38; COZZO, 34; CROCE, Ferdinando, (47).

D'ALBERT, George, 29-35; DAUMONT, 28-33; DAUTY, 37-56; DESFORGES, Armand, 23; D'EGVILLE, James Harvey, 26-27; DELFERIER, (47); DESHAYES, (A.J.J.), 21-29-31-33-35 to 38-42; DESPLACES, Henri, 42-(53 to 59); DI MATTIA, 45 to 52; D'OR (Dore, Dor), Louis, 24; also (same?) 38-47-48-49; DUBOIS, 26-27; DURAND, Eugene, 52-58.

EHRICK, 51; EMILE (Petit?), 34.

FERDINAND, 24-25; FINART, 32; FLUSSE, (52); FREDERIC, 29-30; FREMOLLE, 35; FUSCHS, Alexandre (Also used his first name only), (49 to 52).

GAMBARDELLA, 57; GARCIA, Felix, 45; GONTIE, (47-48); GOSSELIN, 22-27 to 30-39 to 47-50-51-52; GOURIET, many years, from 20 to 51-(53); GUERINOT, Theodore, 26-33-34; GUERPONT, 33; GUERRA, Antonio, 38 to 41; GUILLET, 24-36.

HULLIN, 20-21.

JOLY, 21-23.

LEBLOND, 20-21-22-24-25-26-34; LEFEBVRE, 31; LEON, 30.

MABILLE, Auguste, (47); Charles, 37-38; MARTIN, (Jules?), 32; MASSOT, 57-58; MATHIS, 37; MATTHIEU, 39-40-41; MERANTE, 27; MICHAU, D'Egville, 32-33; MINARD, (52); MONPLAISIR, 56; MONTESSU, 21-44.

O'BRYAN (Obrien), 29-35-41-42-43-(47-48).

PAUL, 22; PAYNE, W. H., (48-55 to 58); PERROT, Jules, 30-33 to 36-43 to 48; PETIPA, Lucien, (47); PETIT (Emile? q.v.), 47-51-(53)-56-57.

RAGAIN, 21; RONZANI, 33-56-57; RU-AULT, (52).

SAINT-LEON, Arthur, 43 to 47; SAMENGO, Paolo, 32; SAXONI, 36-37; SIMON, 29-32; SYLVAIN (Sylvain, Sullivan), James, 24-43-(48)-51.

TAGLIONI, Filippo, 33-34-35-38 to 41; Paul, 47 to 51-56; TOUSSAINT, 20-45; TURBINO, Luigi, 57.

VANDRIS, 56; VARINI, 57; VENAFRA, many years from 1824 to 56; VESTRIS, Bernard, 27; Charles (debut, 1815)-20-22-23-24.

#### ON THE ENGLISH BOARDS

(Incomplete)

*Misses, Mlles. and Mmes.*

ADELE, CG., 32-33; ADELE II, Adelaide, DL, 44 to 52; ANCELLIN, DL., 32-33; ANGELICA, DL., 28-39; AUGUSTA (Fuchs), DL., 32-33; CG., 33-34; AURIOL-Flexmore, Francesca, 47 to 60.

BADERNA, DL., 47; BALLIN-Gilbert, 28 to 51; BARNETT, Millie, 20's to 40's; BARRY-MORE, Ann (Adams), 16 to 40; BASEKE, 28-35; BEDFORD, 16 to 34; BENART, Adele, DL., 46-47; BENONI, A., 55; BERTRAND, DL., 54; BETTONI, CG., 40; BLANCHE, Louise, DL., 53; BOSCHETTI, CG., 59; BOUGLEUX, DL., 29;



BOURGOIN, CG., 34; BROWNE, F., DL., 52; BULLEN, 40's-50's; BUSSOLA, DL., 52; BYRNE, Wife, DL. to 24; Rosa (daughter), DL., 28-29.

CAMARA, La Petra, SJ., 59; CAVA, CG. 33-34; CELESTE, Celine, many years, 31 to 55 and on; CHAVIGNY, CG. 34; the CHICKINIS, 25 to 36; COLSON, DL., 25; the CUSHNIES, 40's & 50's.

DABAS, Julie, DL., 45-46; DANCE, Josephine, H., 33 to 36; D'ANTONIE, DL., 52; DAVIS-Gibson, CG. 32; DELBES, Auguste, DL., 44-45; DELFERIER, DL., 44; the DENNETTS, 20's & 30's; DUBIGNON, Anita, DL., 46-47; DUMILATRE, DL., 44-45; DUPONT, Alexis (Noblet), CG., 34; DUVAL, 43 to 48; DUVERNAY, DL., 32-33-36-37.

EGAN, DL., 26 to 30; ELSSLER, Hermine, DL., 38.

FABBRI-Bretin, DL., 45-46; FAIRBROTHER, Louise, 16(?) to 42; FINART, DL., 44-45; FLEURY, DL., 44; FUOCO, DL., 46-48.

GALBY, DL., 43; GILBERT, DL., 33; GIUBILEI, DL., 44; GOSSE, H., 25; GRAHN, DL. 44; GREEN, Fanny, P., 42-44; GRIFFITHS, 28 to 36; GRISI, DL., 43-46; GUERPONT, CG., 33; GUET, DL., 30-31; GUICHARD, SJ., 39; GUNNIS, E. & S., DL., 54.

HARDING, Emma, A., 40's & 50's; HARVEY, Dorine, H., 36; HONORE, CG., 45; HOWARD, P., 43.

KENNETH, DL., 32-33; CG., 34-35; KEPLER, DL., 31-36-37; CG. 33-34.

LARCHE, CG., 34; LECLERCQ, Wife, 16 to 48; Louise, 48 to 63; Carlotta, 49 to 58; Rose, 50's; LECOMTE, CG., 43; LEGRAIN, Victorine, DL., 51; LEROUX, CG., 32-33-34; DL., 43; LOUISE, DL., 44 to 54; LYDIA, DL. 30 to 36.

MARIA, DL., 45-46; MARIQUITA, A., 55; MARSANO, CG. 34; H. 36; MONCELET, CG., 48; MARSHALL, F., CG. & DL., 28 to 32; Mary Ann, 33 to 47; MONTESSU, CG., 33; MORLACCHI, CG. 59.

NEODOT, DL. 46; NEVILLE, CG., 33; NOBLE, DL. 20 to 28; NOBLET, CG., 34.

O'BRYAN, CG. 20-33-34; DL. 26-30-43-44; OLGA, Marietta, A., 57.

PAGE, CG. 45; PALSER, DL., 52; PAYNE, Wife (nee Rountree), DL. & CG., 28 to 50's; Annie (sister), DL. & CG., 30's to 50's; Annie (daughter), 40's & 50's; Harriet (daughter), DL., 50's; PIERRON, CG., 59; PLUNKETT, DL., 44-52; CG., 45-48; POLIN, DL., 45; PROCHE-Giubilei, 33 to 48.

RECKIE, CG., 33; ROMER, 20's & 30's; ROUSSET, Caroline, Teresine, Adelaide, P., 44; RYALS, DL. & CG., 24 to 40.

SAINT-LOUIN, Les Soeurs A. & K., DL., 45-46-47; SALI, DL., 46; SIMON, DL., 30 to 39; SMITH, DL., 20's; SPARL, Helene, A. 53-57; STEPHAN, Celeste, A. 43-44; CG., 48; Josephine, H., 35; Virginie, H., 35; Maria Guy, DL., 44;

Petit, DL., 43-45.

TAGLIONI, Marie, CG., 32; DL., 37; Amalia (Galdstre), CG. 32; DL., 37; THOMASIN, 28 to 39; THOMPSON, Lydia, 52 on; TREE, M., DL. & CG., 20's; TWAMLEY, CG., 20's.

VAGON, CG., 33-34; VALLANCY, DL. & CG. 20's & 30's; VALTE, DL., 47; VECCHI, De la, DL., 52; VEDY, CG. 20's, to 40's; VIALS, CG., 20's & 30's; VIENNESE Children, DL., 46; VINING (nee Johannot), CG., 20's & 30's.

WEBSTER, Mother, 20's & 30's; Clara, DL., 39 to 44; WOOLGAR, P., 40's; WORRELL, 30's & 40's.

YATZKOFKA, Magdalen, SJ., 39.

ZERBINI, DL., 20's.

#### *Messrs. and MMs.*

ADRIEN, DL., 46; P., 45-46; ALBERT, CG., 34; DL. 44-45; ALBERT Jr., CG. 33-34; ANATOLE (Petit), DL. 32-33; CG. 33-34.

BARNES, 20's; BARNETT, Benjamin, 30's to 40's; BARREZ, DL., 45-46-52; CG., 48; BARTLETT, CG., 33; BERTHIER, 46; BERTRAM, CG., 30's; BLASIS, DL., 47; BRETIN, DL., 45-46; BYRNE, Oscar, 1803 to 1860's; Oscar, Jr., DL., 28-29.

CAREY, (Edouardo or Gustavo?), DL., 43; CHAPINO, DL., 52; CHICKINI, 20's & 30's; CORALLI, DL. 43-44; CORMACK, P., 50's; COULON Jr., CG. 32-33; CROCE, DL. 47.

D'ALBERT, CG., 28 to 32; D'EGVILLE, 1805 to 30's; DELFERIER, DL., 44; DENISE, P., 43 to 46; DESPLACES, DL., 44-46; DORE, 1816 on; DURAND, DL., 52-56.

ELLAR, CG., 20's & 30's; EMILE (Petit), 33-35, and many years.

FINART, DL., 44-45; FLEXMORE, Richard, 40 to 60; FRAMPTON, 30's & 40's.

GASPERINI, DL., 45; GILBERT, George, 29 to 46; GILBERT, T., DL. 31; GOURIET, 20's to 50's; GUERINOT, CG. 32-33; GUERPONT, CG., 33; GUSSIO, DL., 25-28.

HARVEY, DL., 47; HATTON, CG. 33-34; HONORE, CG., 45; HOWELL, 20's to 40's; HUGUET, Eugene, DL., 46; HULLIN, 20's.

JULES (Martin?), CG. 33.

KING, 30's & 40's; LEBARR, A., 53-58; LECLERCQ, Father, 1816 to 50; Arthur, 60's; Charles, 60's.

MARSHALL, Jo(seph), 30's to 50's; Henry, 40's on; MARTIN, DL., 52; MASSOT, H., 36; MATHIS, DL., 46; MATTHEWS, Thomas, 20's to 60's; MAZILIER, DL., 36; MAZURIER, CG., 25; MICHAU, CG., 32; MONTESSU, DL., 44.

NOBLE, DL., 20's.

O'BRYAN, DL. & CG., 30's & 40's; PAGE, CG., 45; PAUL, DL., 32-33-46-47; PAULO, 20's to 50's; PAYNE, W. H., 20's to 50's; Harry (son), 40's on; Frederick (son), 50's on; PETIPA, Lucien, DL., 43-44-45-52; CG. 48; PETIT, Emile, H., 36, and 40's to 60's; PICHLER, DL., 45; POTIER, DL., 45.

RIDGWAY, 40's & 50's; ROSSI, CG. 33; ROUSSET, P., 44.

SAINT-ALBIN, 20's; SAINT-PIERRE, DL., 22-23; SAXONI, CG., 40; SIMON, 30's; STEPHAN, Petit., DL., 44; the SUTTONS, 20's & 30's; SYLVAIN, 24-25-33-34-39-44-46-52.

TAGLIONI, Filippo, CG., 32; DL., 37; Paul, CG., 32; DL., 37; TELL, DL., 46-47; THEODORE, DL., 45; TRESIDOR, DL. 52.

VEDY, 20's to 40's; VENAFRA, 20's to 40's; VESTRIS, Hogue, DL., 44-45.

WEBSTER, Arthur, DL., 40's; Benjamin, 20's on; WELBOURN, 20's; WIELAND, George, DL., etc., 23 to 46.

ZAVYSTOWSKI, DL., 48.

## BALLETS

### ITALIAN OPERA HOUSE

ACALISTA — Massot — (Perea Nena) — 1856; L'ADORATION du Soleil — Aumer — 1824; AGLAE ou l'Eleve de l'Amour — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1841 — (CBB); ALCIDE ou le Jeunesse d'Hercule — Deshayes — (Albert) — 1821; ALFRED le Grand Roi d'Angleterre — Aumer — 1823-25; ALINE, Reine de Golconde — Aumer — 1823; ALMA ou la Fille du Feu — Deshayes and Perrot — (Cerrito) — 1842 to 48 — (CBB); ALPHEA — P. Taglioni — (Taglioni II) — 1857; ALPHONSE et Lenore ou l'Amour Peintre — 1823; L'AMOUR et la Folie — 1836; L'AMOUR Venge — Guerra — 1838; AMYNTHE et l'Amour — Albert — 1832; L'ANNEAU Magique — Albert — (Brugnoli-Samengo) — 1832; ARMIDE — T. Elssler — (F. Elssler) — 1834; L'AUREOLE — Perrot — (Dumilatre) — 1843-46-52-57 — (Revived, 52, by Gosselin for Guy-Stephan; 57, by Massot, for Katinka).

La BACCHANTE — Perrot — (Grah) — 1845-46-47; Un BAILE de Cardil — Guy-Stephan? — (For her) — 1852; Le BAL Champetre — D'Egville — 1826; Un BAL sous Louis XIV — Perrot — 1843 to 46; La BAYADERE — F. Taglioni; Deshayes — (Taglioni) — 1831-33-34-35-38-39 — (Ballet version of Le Dieu et la Bayadere, CBB); BENIOWSKY ou les Exiles au Kamtschatka — Deshayes — 1836-37-38; La BOUQUETIERE — Gosselin? — 1852 — (From Adam's opera?); Le BRIGAND de Terracina (II Briganti) — Deshayes — (Duvernay; later, Elssler) — 1837-38-40.

CALISTO ou la Renvoi de l'Amour — Massot — (Pocchini) — 1858; Le CARNEVAL de Venise — Milon; Deshayes — revived, 1821-22-23-30; CATARINA ou la Fille du Bandit — Perrot — (Grah) — 1846 — (CBB); CENDRILLON — Albert — (Noblet, Anatole, Ronzi Vestris, Mercandotti) — 1822; Le CHALET — Deshayes — 1838; La CHASSE des Nymphes — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1834-35; CLARI — Milon; Aumer — 1825; CLEOPATRA, Reine d'Egypte — Aumer — 25 — (CBB); La COQUETTE Soumise — Aumer — 1825; CORALIA — P. Taglioni — (Rosati) — 1847 — (CBB);

Le CORSAIRE — Albert — (Duvernay & H. Elssler) — 1837 — (New version, 1856, Mazilier; Ronzani for Rosati — CBB); Les COSMOPOLITES — 1851 — (A divertissement, with array of dances of all nations, for Great Exhibition Year.).

DAPHNIS et Cephe — Albert — (Heberle) — 1832; Les DEGUISEMENTS Imprevu — Deshayes — 1829; Les DELICES au Serail — Gosselin — 1850; Le DELIRE d'un Peintre — Perrot — (F. Elssler) — 1843-44 (revived for Grah '46); Le DIABLE Amoureux — Mazilier; Coulon — (Guy-Stephan) — 1841 — (CBB); Le DIABLE a Quatre — Mazilier; P. Taglioni? — (Grisi) — 1849-51 — (CBB); Le DIABLE Boiteux — Coralli; Deshayes? — (F. Elssler) — 1838 — (CBB); DIANE et Endymion — Anatole — 1828 — (A Perrot ballet of same name in 1845.).

ELECTRA ou la Pleiade Perdu — P. Taglioni — (Grisi) — 1849 — (CBB); Les ELEMENS — Perrot — (Grisi-Cerrito-Rosati) — 1847-48 — (CBB); L'ELEVE de l'Amour, Aglae (q.v.) ou — F. Taglioni; Cerrito — 1842 — (CBB); EOLINE ou la Dryade — Perrot — (Grah) — 1845-46 — (CBB); La ESMERALDA — Perrot — (Grisi, later, F. Elssler) — 1844-45-47 to 51-57, by Ronzani for Pocchini. Note: Cerrito danced a ballet of this name earlier, in Vienna? also by Perrot? — CBB).

FAUST — Deshayes — 1833 — (Version, Paris Opera, La Tentation. Note: Fanny and Therese Elssler made their London debuts in this ballet, 9 March, 1833, and danced there that season until 20 July. This is important to remark, because Elssler's London debut has been incorrectly reported in every essay on her that we have seen.); La FEE et le Chevalier — T. Elssler — 1833 — (Note: this work and Armide, q.v., by the Elsslers, seem to have been versions of Samengo ballets danced by them earlier in Vienna and Berlin.); La FETE Hongroise — Aumer — 1824; La FETE des Nymphes — Deshayes — 1842; La FETE des Rosieres — 1852; La FIANCEE — Deshayes — 1842; La FILLE de l'Exile — Guerra — 1841; FINETTE et l'Eveille' — Albert — 1821; FIORITA ou la Reine des Fees (Elfrides) — P. Taglioni — (Rosati) — 1848-49 — (CBB); FLEURS des Champs — Massot — 1858; FLORE et Zephire — (Didot, 1795, on; often revived, as for Taglioni's London debut:) — 1830-31-33 — (CBB); La FOIRE de Smyrne — D'Egville — 1821.

La GIPSY — Mazilier; Who? — (F. Elssler) — 1839-40-43 — (CBB); GISELLE — Coralli; Perrot; Deshayes — (Grisi) — 1842-43-45-47-49-50 — (CBB); La GITANA — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1839-40-41-46 — (CBB); Les GRACES — P. Taglioni — (Grisi-Ferraris-Taglioni II) — 1850-51; GUILAUME Tell — Leon — 1830-31; GUSTAVE III: Ball Scene — 1834-51.

HASSAN et le Calife ou le Dormeur Eveille' — Anatole — 1828; Une HEURE a Naples — Albert — 1832; HONNEUR aux Dames — Aumer — 1824; Les HOURIS-Perrot — (Dumilatre; later, for Cerrito) — 1843-45.



L'ILE des Amours — P. Taglioni — (Ferraris) — 1851; L'IMPROMPTU Allegorique — Deshayes — 1821; INES de Castro — Cortesi — (Pallerini) — 1833.

JADIS et Aujourd'hui — Aumer — 1824; Les JEUX de Flore et de Zephire — 1821; Le JUGEMENT de Paris — Perrot — (Taglioni-Cerrito-Grahn) — 1846-47-48 — (CBB); JUSTINE et Lisette — 1825; JUSTINE ou la Cruche Cassee — D'Egville — 1826.

KAYA — Perrot — (Grahn) — 1845; KENILWORTH — Deshayes — 1831.

Le LAC des Fees — Guerra — (Cerrito) — 1840-41-42-51; LALLA Rookh ou la Rose de Lahore — Perrot — (Cerrito) — 1846-47 — (CBB).

La MANOLA: Grand Pas — 1858; MARCO Spada — Mazilier: Massot? — (Rosati) — 1857 — (CBB); Le MARIAGE Secret ou les Habitans du Chene — D'Egville — 1826; MASANIELLO ou le Pecheur de Portici — Deshayes — (Leroux) — 1829 to 34-38 — (Ballet version; complete opera-ballet in Italian of Auber's masterpiece produced here 1851 with famous Italian mime, Monti, as Fenella.); MATILDE ou la Magie Amoureuse — F. Taglioni — 1841; MAZILA ou Haine au Hommes — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1835; Les METAMORPHOSES — P. Taglioni — (Grisi) — 1850-51 — (CBB); MIRANDA ou le Naufrage — F. Taglioni — 1838.

La NAISSANCE de Venus — D'Egville — 1826; NATHALIE ou la Laitiere Suisse — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1833-34 — (CBB); La NAYADE — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1831; NINA ou la Folle par Amour — Milon: Deshayes — (Noblet) — Revived, 1821-22-35 — (CBB); Les NOCES de Tamar et Rose Blanche ou le Pouvoir de l'Amour — D'Egville — 1827; Les NOCES du Village — Aumer — 1823-24-25; Une NUIT de Bal — Guerra — 1839.

OENONE et Paris — Gardel: Deshayes — (Albert) — 1821-31; L'OFFRANDE aux Graces — 1823-25; L'OMBRE — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1840 — (CBB); ONDINE ou la Naiade — Perrot — (Cerrito) — 1843 to 48-51 — (CBB); ORITHEA — P. Taglioni — (Grahn) — 1847.

Le PAGE Inconstant — Dauberval: Aumer — 1824; Les PAGES du Duc de Vendome — Aumer: Anatole (1822) — Aumer's original choreography: 1823 — Revived, 28-40 — (Note: These important first London productions not mentioned in CBB, q.v.); PANDORE — 1822; PAS de Poignards (from *Il Prodigio* or *L'Enfant Prodigue*) — Gosselin? — (Rosati) — 1851; Le PAS de Quatre — Perrot — (Taglioni-Grisi-Cerrito-Grahn) — 1845-47 — (CBB); PASTORAL Symphony (Beethoven) — Deshayes — 1829; PAUL et Virginie — Deshayes — 1835 — (Consult CBB); La PAYSANNE Grande Dame — 1844 — (Elssler; perhaps her own choreographer); La PAYSANNE Supposée ou le Mariage Clan-destin — Deshayes — (Noblet) — 1821; Le PECH-  
EUR Napolitain — Perrot — 1842-45; Le PETIT Chaperon Rouge — 1823; PHYLLIS et Melibee ou

l'Amour Constant — Anatole — 1828; Les PLAISIRS de l'Hiver ou les Patineurs — P. Taglioni — 1849-50 — (CBB); Le POUVOIR de la Danse ou la Nouvelle Terpsichore — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1834; La PRIMA Ballerina ou l'Ambuscade — P. Taglioni — 1849-50 — (CBB); Le PRIX ou l'Offrande a Terpsichore — Deshayes — (For Noblet's London debut) — 1821.

Les QUATRE Saisons — Perrot — (Grisi-Cerrito-Rosati-Taglioni II) — 1848 — (Another, different music and choreography, 1856, for Boschetti's London debut. — CBB).

La REINE des Songes — Massot — 1858; La RESSEMBLANCE — F. Taglioni — (For Nathalie Fitzjames; but earlier danced by the Taglioni at Covent Garden) — 1838; ROBERT-le-Diable — Guerra — 1839 — (Ballet version, Rossini's opera); Les ROSES — Massot — (Boschetti) — 1857; ROSIDA — Cerrito: St. Leon — (Cerrito) — 1845 — (CBB); Le ROSSIGNOL — Deshayes — 1836 — (In this ballet during that year Grisi first bowed to London).

Le SEIGNEUR Genereux — 1821; La SICILIENNE ou l'Amant Peintre — Anatole — 1828; Le SIEGE de Cythere — D'Egville — 1827; SIR Huon ou le Cor Enchanté — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1834; Une SOIREE de Carneval — Perrot — 1842-43-47; La SOMNAMBULE — Aumer: Deshayes — 1829 to 33-35-58 — (CBB); Le SONGE d'Ossian — Aumer — 1824; La SYLPHIDE — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1833 to 38-41-45 to 47-51-52 — (Also notably danced here by Varin, Duvernay, Cerrito, Forli, & Taglioni II). — (CBB).

La TARENTOLE — Coralli-Barrez — (Elssler) — 1840-43 — (CBB); Le TEMPLE de la Concorde — D'Egville — 1826; THEA ou la Fee des Fleurs — P. Taglioni — (Rosati & Taglioni II) — 1847-48-49 — (CBB); Le TOREADOR — Guerra — (Cerrito) — 1840; La TYROLIENNE — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — (A divertissement adapted from opera of William Tell). — 1830-31-33-34-35-39-41.

La VIVANDIERE — St. Leon — (Cerrito) — 1844-45-46-48 — (First danced by them, it would seem, in Italy; later, by Cerrito, in London in 1855, see below, Royal Italian Opera) — (CBB).

ZELIA ou l'Amour et la Magie — Gosselin — 1852; ZELIA ou la Nympe de Diane — Perrot — (Cerrito) — 1844 — (Perhaps the only utter flop in the careers of either Perrot or Cerrito); ZEPHYR Berger — Coulon — 1835-36.

#### ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA COMPANY'S SEASONS — 1847-1858

Les ABEILLES — Desplaces — 1857-59; L'AMOUR d'une Rose — Desplaces — (Richard) — 1858; L'AMOUR et la Danse — Casati — (Plunkett) — 1847.

La BOUQUETIERE de Venise — Choreographer? — (Elssler) — 1847; La BREZILIENNE — Desplaces — (Cerrito; later, Richard) — 1857-58-59.

CARILLA — Casati & Appiani — (Grahn) — 1848.

Le DIABLE a Quatre — Mazilier: Bretin — (Fabri) — 1848-53-54 — (CBB).

Une ETOILE — 1853-54-55; EVA — Harris: Desplaces — (Cerrito) — 1855-56.

La FILLE Mal Gardee — Dauberval: Desplaces — 1853 — (From then current Paris Opera revival; consult CBB); FLEURETTE — Desplaces — 1853-54 — (From Cerrito's Paris Opera ballet, Les Sept Peches Capitaux, said Times' review.) — FLORE et Zephire — 1847-48 — (Divertissement lifted from Manon Lescaut, q.v.)

Les HAMMADRYADES — Desplaces — 1856.

La MANOLA: Grand Pas de Deux for Plunkett — 1847; MANON Lescaut — Casati — (Elssler) — 1847-48; MASANIELLO (Auber's opera-ballet in Italian, with Leroux as Fenella, 1849; with Ballin, 50-51; also, in 52-53-54).

La NAIAD — Casati — (Plunkett) — 1847; NIRENE ou les Sens — Appiani — (Marmet) — 1848. L'ODALISQUE — Albert — (Fleury) — 1847.

Les PATINEURS — Casati — (Louise Taglioni; Meyerbeer music) — 1849 to 55; La PERI — Albert? — (Plunkett) — 1847 — (CBB).

La REINE des Fees — Albert — (Dumilatre) — 1847; La REINE des Feux-Follets — Appiani — (Fabbri) — 1848; La ROSIERA — Casati — (Fuoco) — 1847-48.

La SALAMANDRINE — (Elssler) — 1847; La SYLPHIDE — (Grah) — 1848 — (CBB).

TERPSICHORE — Desplaces — (Plunkett) — 1857.

La VIVANDIERE — Cerrito — (Cerrito) — 1855 — (CBB).

## ENGLISH THEATRES — A SELECTION

L'AMOUR Vainqueur — DL — Gilbert — 1839; ALMA (Serio-comic) — A. — Wieland? — (Proche-Giubilei) — 1842; The AMAZONS — CG. — A. Mabile: Barrez — (Plunkett) — 1848 — (Paris Opera 'Nisida'); L'AMOUR ou la Rose Animee — SJ. — Sylvain — (Guichard) — 1839 — (Elssler & Sylvain danced this piece in America; in 1846, Grisi & Sylvain danced it in London, Queen's Theatre, Spring Gardens); ARIADNE — CG. — Vandris? — (Boschetti) — 1859; AULD Robin Grey — CG. — D'Albert — 1830.

La BAYADERE — DL — 1845-46; The BEAUTY of Ghent — DL. — Albert — (Fleury) — 1844 — (CBB); La BELLE au Bois Dormant (The Sleeping Beauty) — DL. — Aumer: Anatole — (Duvernay) 1833-34.

The CALIPH'S Choice — P. — Flexmore — (Auriol) — 1850; Les CONSCRITS du Village — P. — Gilbert & Vedy — 1846; Le CORSAIRE — DL. — Albert — (Dumilatre) — 1844; A COURT Ball in 1740 — P. — Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1845.

Les DANAIDES — DL. — (Maria) — 1845; DANCING Mad — P. — Flexmore — 1849 — (Version Gardel's La Dansomanie?); The DAUGHTER of the Danube — DL. — F. Taglioni: Gilbert? — (Ballin) — 1837 — (Also, E., 1842, Gilbert & Ballin; H., 39, Gilbert-Wieland-Ballin; A., 42-44, Wieland-Proche Giubilei) — (CBB); The DESERTER of Naples, CG. — 1829; DL. — 1844; The DEVIL in

Love (Le Diable Amoureux) — DL. — Mazilier: Who? — (Leroux) — 1843 — (CBB); The DEVIL on Two Sticks (Le Diable Boiteux) — DL. — Coralli: Mazilier — (Duvernay) — 1836 — (CBB; but Note: in London first seen as given here, not at King's Theatre; also, on 1 Dec., 1836, not 16 March, 1836, for it was only produced, originally, in Paris in June, 1836. Later produced at Princess's Theatre, by Vedy & Wieland(?), with Wieland as Asmodeus, 1843); The DEVIL to Pay (Le Diable a Quatre) — (Three versions of this ballet were running simultaneously in London: (1) Adelphi burletta, Taming a Tartar — a vast success and the first produced — (2) Le Diable a Quatre, at the Princess's with the Gilberts, Marshalls, Mlle. Duval, M. Adrien, and (3) Bunn's elaborate production at Drury Lane, Mazilier's ballet there handled by Barrez, and Flora Fabbri starred; all three ran 1845 to 48.) — (CBB); DIANE et Endymion — E. — Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1837. The DANCING Scotchman — A. — Flexmore — (Auriol) — 1853.

The ENCHANTED Bell — P. — Rousset — 1844; ESMERALDA — P. — Perrot: Flexmore — (Auriol) — 1848-49 — (CBB); An EMBLEMATICAL Tribute — DL. — Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1840. — (For the Queen's Nuptials.)

The FAIR Sicilian or the Conquered Coquette (La Coquette Soumise) — CG. — Albert — (Noblet) — 1834; The FAIRY Slipper (Cendrillon) — CG. — Albert — (Noblet) — 1834; La FETE des Pecheurs — P. — 1845; La FETE de Terpsichore — DL. — Albert — 1844; La FETE du Village — P. — Vedy — 1843; Une FETE Napolitaine — CG. — 1851; La FILLE Mal Gardee — SJ. — Dauberval: Sylvain — (Guichard) — Revived, 1839 — (CBB); La FLEUR d'Amour — DL. — 1858; La FOIRE de Naples — DL. — Gilbert — 1839; The FORTUNATE ISLES: An Allegorical and National Masque — CG. — Oscar Byrne — 1840 — (For the Queen's Nuptials).

La GENIE du Globe — DL. — 1847; GISELLE — P. — Coralli: Perrot: Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1843 — (Also produced — by whom? (Maria) — DL., 1845-46) — (CBB); GUSTAVUS III: Ball Scene (and opera) — CG. — (Celeste) — 1833-37.

HANS of Iceland — C. G. — Byrne — 1841.

IMELDA — DL. — Barrez — (Sali) — 1846; L'INVITATION a la Fete — DL. — B. Barnett — (Fuoco) — 1848; The ISLAND Nymph — DL. — (Maria) — 1846.

KENILWORTH — CG. — Deshayes: Coulon — 1833-37 — (Revival, King's Theatre production); Une KERMES — DL. — 1846.

LADY Henrietta — DL. — Mazilier: Bartholomin — (Grah) — 1844; LEOLA or the Mayday Bride — P. — Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1844 — (Score built on Irish folk-tunes.); The LITTLE Hunchback — DL. — Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1839.

The MAID of Cashmere (Le Dieu et la Bayadere, opera-ballet, in English) — DL. — Anatole — (Duvernay & Augusta; later by many dancers, including la Taglioni, Mme. Paul Taglioni, Ballin,



Lecomte, Celeste, Baseke, and, at Adelphi, 1855, Mariquita and Benoni) — 1833-37-46-47, etc.; The MARBLE Maiden — DL. — Albert — (Dumilatre) — 1845 — (Consult CBB, p. 394.); MASANIELLO: Ballet Version — CG. — Deshayes: Coulon — (Leroux) — 1832 — (Revival, King's Theatre production.); as opera-ballet in English — DL. — Byrne? — (Bougleux) — 1829 — (Later, many revivals and as many Fenellas, including Augusta, Proche-Giubilei, Bal-lin, etc.)

La NAPOLITAINE — CG. — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1832; NATHALIE ou la Laitiere Suisse — DL. — 1845; The NIGHT Dancers, a much admired and highly successful ballad-opera version of 'Giselle' by Loder, adapting Adam's music; Princess's Theatre; Miss Romer as Giselle, Miss M. A. Marshall as Myrtha, 1846; later, revived, with Auriol as Myrtha.

The OFFSPRING of Flowers — DL. — Bretin — (Fabbri) — 1846; ONDINE — A. — (Celeste Steph-an) — 1843 — (CBB).

The PAGES of the Duke de Vendome — DL. — Aumer: Gilbert — 1833 — (CBB); PAQUITA — DL. — Mazilier: Sylvain — (Grisi) — 1846 — (CBB). PASTORAL Symphony (Beethoven) — DL. — Gilbert? — 1835; Les PATINEURS — P. — Flexmore — 1849 — (Note: Flexmore and Royal Italian Opera used Meyerbeer's music from Le Prophete; for Les Plaisirs de l'Hiver ou les Patineurs at Her Majesty's, P. Taglioni used a score specially composed by Pagni.); La PERI — DL. — Coralli: L. Petipa — (Grisi) — 1843-45-48 — (CBB); PEROUSE or the Desolate Island — DL. — Ballet d'Action of circa 1800, revived for Wieland in 1825 & 1846; The PHANTOM Dancers, a ballet-burletta on Giselle, but should be mentioned here for the record: Adelphi; choreography by Celeste, with Celeste as Giselle and Emma Harding as Myrtha, the whole greatly praised and huge success; 1847-48 and on; The PRETTY Sicilian — DL. — Blasis — (Baderna) — 1847; Le PRINTEMPS — P. — Vedy & Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1845.

La RESSEMBLANCE — CG. — F. Taglioni — (Taglioni) — 1832; The REVOLT of the Harem — CG. — Taglioni: Anatole — (Leroux) — 1834-44 — (CBB); ROBERT et Bertrand — DL. — (Polin & Gasperini) — 1845; La ROSIERE — P. — 1848.

Le SALON du Bal — P. — Gilbert — 1844; The SECRET Marriage (Le Mariage Secret) — H. — D'Egville — 1835; The SLAVE Market — P. — Gilbert — 1844; Une SOIREE de Carnival — Queen's — Sylvain — (Grisi) — 1846; another, by same name, for Mlle. Legrain, CG., 1851; The SONNAMBULIST — DL. — Gilbert — 1840; again, P. — Gilbert — 1844 — (Both times with Ballin as Amina) — (CBB); SPANISH Gallantries — DL. — Blasis — (Baderna) — 1847; The SPIRIT of Air — DL. — Gilbert — (Hermine Ellsler) — 1838; same, P. — Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1846; The SPIRIT of the Valley — DL. — St. Leon — 1853; The STAR of the Rhine — DL. — Barrez — (Plunkett) — 1852; The STORM or the Isle of the Genii — CG. — 1834 — (Version, Paris Opera, La Tempete); The SWISS Nuptials — H. — D'Egville — 1835; La SYLPHIDE — CG. 1832 — DL. 1837 — F. Taglioni — Taglioni; another production, E. — Gilbert — (Ballin) — 1842 — (CBB).

La TARENTULE — DL. — Barrez — 1846 — (CBB).

VENETIAN Pastimes — P. — Vedy — 1843; VERT-Vert — DL. — Barrez? — (Plunkett) — 1852 — (CBB); Le VERNEN — DL. — 1846.

The WAGS of Wapping (Version Paris Opera 'Betty') — DL. — Mazilier: Barrez — (Fuoco, for her London debut) — 1846 — (CBB). The WOODEN Leg — Byrne — 1841.

ZULEMA — H. — D'Egville — (Dance) — 1835.

### SOME ADELPHI BALLET BURLETTAS

The Kitchen Sylph (The Fairy Slipper) 1834. Lurline or the Revolt of the Naiads (Revolt of the Harem) 1834.

Buy It, Dear, 'Tis Made of Cashmere (The Bayadere, the Maid of Cashmere).

Satanas or the Spirit of Beauty (Le Diable Amoureux) 1841.

Taming a Tartar or Magic and Mazurkaphobia (Le Diable a Quatre) 1845.

The Judgement of Paris or the Pas de Pippins — 1846.

Esmeralda — 1848.

The Devil's Violin and the Revolt of the Flowers — 1849.

The Elves, 1857 etc., etc.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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